Daily Report

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Government Adopts Emergency Measures for Winter

AU1010194790 Sofia BTA in English 1828 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)—The government has taken measures for the import of natural gas, steam coal and electricity in the next three months, for the stabilization of the deliveries of oil and fuel oil and for the going into operation of a new generating unit in Kozloduy. There are plans to secure the delivery of household fuel, coal and briquettes, firewood and propane butane.

By the end of the year the government will submit to parliament a program for the development of the power industry.

With the expected output by the end of the year, the deliveries of staple foods will be at the level of 1989.

Measures will be taken to stabilize transport services, too.

The government will end the budget funding of investment in material production and in the nonmaterial sphere with the exception of hospitals, schools, housing and child-care establishments. State crediting of investment is discontinued. Exchequer financing of the municipal councils' urban development measures will be suspended. Subsidies for money-losing and low-profit productions will be cut drastically. Office and administrative expenses will be frozen until the end of the year irrespective of the growth of prices. The allocations for the maintenance of overseas missions and activities will be reduced.

The government believes that the National Bank should introduce a procedure for a current updating of the basic interest rate to adjust it to inflation.

The government suggests that the bank reduce the money supply in circulation.

It find that prices should be further liberalized: the prices of raw and prime materials and energy resources should be leveled with the international prices, state subsidies should be eliminated for the retail prices of the predominant part of goods whose prices are now fixed by the state, at least 40 percent of the prices of goods should be determined on the market by the end of 1990, the prices of some children's good should be raised to deter black-marketeering.

For the offsetting of price hikes, the government declared that it will index wages and pensions, will raise child benefits and will provide social benefits to the socially disadvantaged.

The government sees the restriction of the wage level growth as a crucial condition. It is suggested that when they index the wages of their staff, the companies and the enterprises limit the overall size of compensations to up to 70 percent of the price increases. If this recommendation is not observed, the government will introduce in parliament a motion for a temporary tax to curb the growth of the wage level.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 10 October carries a similar report on the measures adopted by the government and adds: "On the basis of the anticipated quantity of fuel to be received by the end of the year, and to ensure the normal functioning of the transportation system and the agricultural equipment during the fall-winter season, a coupon-system for purchase of monthly quantities of gasoline and diesel for the private cars in the country has been introduced. Owners of private cars and pickup trucks can obtain no more than 30 liters per month. Owners of private motorcycles—10 liters. The quantity of gasoline used by state, public, and company vehicles should be at least 25-percent lower than the quantity used during the same month in 1989."]

Economic Reform Program Submitted to Assembly

Denationalization, Privatization Stressed

AU1010182690 Sofia BTA in English 1646 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)—Without the slightest delay, parallel to the stabilization measures, the government intends to go ahead with a comprehensive reform of the economic system. The idea is to adopt urgently new economic legislation and to set up the institutions of a market economy.

The economic system reform includes denationalization and privatization, a new monetary, credit and banking system, a new system of state and currency finance, demonopolization, competition and prices liberalization, a new foreign economic and currency regulations.

In a draft of the program submitted to parliament today, the government suggests that the reform start immediately and be carried out throughout 1991 and after.

The privatization should secure the transformation of state and municipal property into private property and should create conditions for treatment on an equal footing and constitutional and legal protection for private property and free enterprise in all economic branches.

The draft lays down the following emergency measures: A repeal, by the end of November 1990, of all acts of delegated legislation which restrict the entrepreneurship of private companies and cooperatives. At the same time, parliament will consider a cooperatives bill, a land bill and a foreign investment bill.

A "small-size" privatization programme will be ready in two months time. Under it, small and medium-sized state-owned businesses will be sold to cooperatives or private companies, including foreign natural and juristic persons.

The phased privatization of major units of state property will begin in early 1991.

The privatization will be carried out in the conditions of public openness and competition.

A bill which will be introduced by the end of this year will guarantee and encouarge juristic and natural persons to own intellectual property.

Along with the privatization, the government will deregulate economic activity according to the principle "everything that is not banned is allowed."

The idea of the reform of the monetary, credit and banking system is to establish an independent national bank, a two-tier banking system with a ramified network of financial institutions and to create a money and a stock market and institutions to serve it.

By the end of this year, the government will liberalize and simplify the regulations for the opening of subsidiaries of foreign commercial banks in this country by lifting the restrictions on the percentage share participation of foreigners in the statutory capital of Bulgarian commercial banks.

The government will submit to parliament a bill on the demonopolization of insurance, under which foreign capital will be attracted in insurance, as well as a bill on the raising of social security funds on the basis of a share-holding principle.

Through the suggested reform of the budget system, the government intends to secure a dramatic reduction of the redistribution functions of the exchequer and to curb the growth of the public debt by setting up a new tax system.

By the end of 1990, the government plans to submit to parliament bills on the national budget, on natural persons' income and property taxes, on the profits tax, on the value-added tax and on tax control, along with draft legislation on customs duties, on transactions in currency assets and currency controls, on bookkeeping and statistical accountancy consistent with international standards.

As from the beginning of next year, the government will move revisions of the tax system to ensure an equal treatment of all economic entities. A standard proportional economic activities profits tax will be introduced at a rate of 40 per cent, irrespective of the form of ownership.

The government declared that it will pursue a policy of speedier transition to a market formation of the prices of goods and services. Prices will be liberalized parallel to the introduction of a single market exchange rate, a market interest rate, and a free wage bargaining between employees and employers. As from January 1, 1991 the state will retain its interference in pricing only for a limited range of vital production resources and goods of monopolized supply.

The monopoly state-owned companies, which purchase, process and sell farming produce, as well as state-owned distributive trade businesses and tour operators will be eliminated on a priority basis.

By the end of 1990, preparations will be completed to open commodity exchanges for farm produce, building materials and other mass goods.

The government plans to introduce by the end of 1990 a number of radical changes in the foreign economic and currency regulations and ultimately to replace them by fundamentally new regulations based on a single market exchange rate.

A national center for coordination and control of the distribution of the incoming foreign aid will be formed by the end of November. Experts of international economic organizations and of the commission of the European communities will be invited to sit on this panel.

All major and most urgent laws should be passed by the Grand National Assembly by the end of November at the latest, the government's draft programme says.

Lukanov Makes Formal Presentation

AU1010183090 Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)—Today the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov submitted to parliament a program for further democratization of society and accelerated transition to a market economy.

It presents the views of the one-party Socialist government on social stabilization and marketization.

The program proceeds from the political system accords reached at the roundtable negotiations in the spring and from the "Basic Principles and Content of the Economic Reform," unsigned but agreed then, which expressed the stand of the opposition experts as well.

The program has also taken into account the recommendations of the American experts led by Dr. Richard Rahn, vice president of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America. Dr. Rahn told THE "NEW YORK TIMES" that he had never been more pleased then when working on that project. Statements in parliament and at the consultations on the formation of a government and opinions of West European experts have been taken into consideration, too.

The program singles out the commitment to the all-nation interest in a peaceful transition to a democratic society as a priority area in the work of the government. It seeks to ease social tensions, to stabilize the economy and to launch an economic reform, to start reforming education, science and culture, and to provide a safety net for the socially disadvantaged strata.

In the political system, within one month the Lukanov Administration will submit to parliament a draft Grand National Assembly declaration on the basic principles of the new constitution whose drafting will take more time.

The government declared that it will maintain a constructive dialogue with the parliamentary forces and with the forces outside parliament. It attaches particular importance to its cooperation with trade union and employer organizations, including those in private business.

The government says it is ready to support the promotion of free enterprise and that it will cooperate with private companies and their associations.

The government will keep pursuing a policy of a definitive dismantling of totalitarian structures in executive power. It will work in compliance with the parliament's decisions on the depoliticization and will respect the independence of the judicial branch.

The government declared that it will assert the autonomy, it will extend the functions and the financial capabilities of the local authorities.

It will stand up for the nonpartisan character of television and radio and will create conditions for alternative news organizations, private ones included.

Two weeks after its program is endorsed, the government will submit a motion on changes in the structure of the central state bodies. The government office staff will be reduced. The redundancies will be relocated on the basis of their qualifications.

In the legal system, parallel with the drafting of the new constitution, by the end of the year the government will submit to parliament outlines of drafts of the future constitutional laws.

In their capacity as subjects of law, citizens will be treated on an equal footing with the state and the other legal personalities, the government declared, expressing its positions on the new Bulgarian legislation.

Special attention will be paid to the improvement of administrative justice.

The government will invoke actively its right to initiate legislation in order to speed up the law reform as a legal framework for the reform in other spheres.

The government believes that a Constitutional Court should be established as a guarantee of the statutes and of the delegated legislative acts.

In the national economy, the government will seek to provide for the basic requirements of the population in the winter, to take the first steps towards an external and internal balancing of the economy by a shift of priorities, to start the deep-going changes in the structure of production, consumption and foreign trade.

The government believes that the emergency measures for the forthcoming winter, the stabilization measures until the end of the year and the market reform are interconnected.

Warns of Short-Term Adverse Effects

AU1010201090 Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)—Introducing the economic reform program to parliament today, the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov warned that the transition to a market economy will be accompanied by a temporary increase of social insecurity and tensions due to a growing property and social stratification. There will be numerous redundancies. Inflation will run high and will affect adversely the living standard of a large part of the population.

That is why the government plans special measures to mitigate the effects especially for the socially disadvantaged strata.

After consultations with the trade union organizations, the government will introduce in parliament motions on amendments to labor legislation. The idea is to provide a legal framework for wage bargaining between employers and employees in keeping with the fundamental requirements in the market economy and for a more rational utilization of labor power.

Work will be speeded up on the draft of a new Labor Code.

The social benefit and social welfare system will go into action from the beginning of 1991. A social security bill will be drafted.

The health-care legislation will be entirely revised and by March 1991 at the latest, a public health bill will be introduced.

The new legislation will encourage the development of private, cooperative, joint-stock and other forms of operations in health care.

From January 1, the government wants to adopt a new housing policy through the establishment of a modern housing market.

Foreign Policy's Economic Aspects Viewed

AU1010201290 Sofia BTA in English 1945 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)—The foreign policy of Bulgaria will seek, basically, to secure the possibly most favourable conditions for the construction of a democratic civil society, says the draft government program, submitted to parliament today by the Prime Minister Mr. Andrey Lukanov.

The government will assign priority to the country's wide opening up to the world through a fast removal of all political and economic obstacles to its development as a modern democratic state.

Bulgaria will extend its cooperation with the highly advanced industrialized states and will activate its efforts for integration with the existing European structures and with the world financial and trade institutions.

The government will seek to pursue good-neighbor and, as far as possible, friendly relations with all Balkan countries on the basis of international law, the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity and nonintervention in internal affairs.

At the same time, efforts will be concentrated on the preservation of all valuable and necessary elements from the previous relations with the countries' allies and traditional partners in other parts of the world.

In its relations with the advanced Western states, the government intends to take measures for the implementation of the agreement on trade, trade and economic cooperation between Bulgaria and the European Communities.

By the end of this year, negotiations will get underway on Bulgaria's associate membership in the EC and on accession to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT).

Bulgaria will also expect assistance within the Phare Program of the G-24, as well as humanitarian and other urgent aid.

A stand-by loan is expected from the International Monetary Fund, along with loans for economic restructuring and the promotion of the private sector.

The already signed trade agreement with the United States, whereby Bulgaria will be granted a most favored nation status, will be ratified soon.

With respect to the Soviet Union, the government suggests a revision and updating of political, economic and military contacts in the light of the new realities in both countries. Bulgaria will suggest a renewal of the 1967 Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between Bulgaria and the USSR.

The government intends to consolidate the existing guarantees and to seek new international political and military national security guarantees through a balance of relations with the Soviet Union, the United States, Western Europe, the Balkan and the East European countries, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and NATO. This balance should only reckon with the national interests, the draft program emphasizes.

The government declares its readiness for a continued participation in the United Nation's global efforts to maintain international peace and security and for a consistent and principled implementation of international human rights standards.

Past Economic Model Called 'Absurd'

AU1010212390 Sofia BTA in English 2013 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)—"Bulgaria has no other alternative except to bid farewell for ever to its absurd economic model," the Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov told parliament today. He was outlining the country's socioeconomic development and his government's proposed economic reform.

The government program has drawn on the rational elements of the election campaign platforms of the Socialist Party and of the Union of Democratic Forces, it has taken into account the ideas agreed between the two major political forces before and after the elections. Mr. Lukanov said it would be irrelevant to argue which platform was closer to the government program because of Bulgaria's critical situation.

The program will be debated in the standing committees of the Grand National Assembly.

The choice which Bulgaria faces demands sacrifices and economic efforts, the prime minister emphasized. He called for a 300-day moratorium on mass political actions.

Mr. Lukanov called on Bulgarians to wake up to the realities of the world. The time of half-hearted and gradual measures has run out, he stressed. The survival of the Bulgarian nation depends on the vigor of the reform.

Mr. Lukanov assigned priority to the economic reform for Bulgaria's break with the Stalinist economic model. Some of the absurdities in this model have developed and worsened since November 10, 1989, he said.

Depoliticization Law Adopted on First Reading

AU1010205590 Sofia BTA in English 2020 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)—Parliament today voted in principle the bill on the depoliticization of the Army, the law courts, the police, the Prosecutors Offices and the diplomatic service. The bill was introduced by the President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev on September 14. It went through an exceedingly heated debate at several sittings. The opposition criticized the Socialists for stalling on the passage of the bill.

The opposition applauded and cheered when the Socialists' official spokesman said that their party has adopted depoliticization as an idea and a consistent practice after November 10, 1989. He stressed his hope that parliament will lay down legal guarantees so that the monopoly of power, which the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] relinquished voluntarily for the sake of democracy, should not be restored by another party and that any possibility for persecution on grounds of political convictions be ruled out.

BSP Urges Members To Accept Depoliticization

AU1010110090 Sofia BTA in English 0839 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)—The Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) accepts the depoliticization of the state bodies and their employees, it is said in the address of the Supreme Council and the parliamentary group of the BSP the members of the party in the Army, the police, the intelligence services, the Foreign Ministry, the courts of law, the Prosecuting Magistracy and the investigating authorities published in today's DUMA.

The leadership of the Socialist Party considers that "this complicated social problem" should be solved by adopting a law of state employees determining their rights, duties and responsibility and points out that until

the adoption of such a law, decisions should be made to ensure the necessary depoliticization of the state bodies.

The BSP Supreme Council addresses the Socialists employed at the Ministry of Defense, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Intelligence Service, the National Security Guard Department, the courts of law, the Prosecuting Magistracy and the investigating authorities with an appeal to support this position. We are convinced that this would not lead to our party's losing strength, because in the conditions of democracy it is not formal membership but real adherence to the policy of the BSP that is the main and determining factor, it is stressed in the address.

At the same time the BSP leadership declares itself to be for the elimination of organizations set up for political purposes or participating in workplace political unions and against any political forces that act under the cover of trade union organizations or of other forms of organizations.

DUMA informs that the re-enrollment and the issue of new documents for Socialists have begun.

Lilov Answers Beron on Socialist Youth Rally

AU1010110390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 5 Oct 90 p 2

[Letter from Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, answering a letter from Petur Beron, chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces; place and date not given]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Beron,

By token of the political responsibility reflected in your letter to me, I feel myself obligated to declare that the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] and its leadership sincerely and convincingly adhere to the moratorium on mass political rallies adopted by all political forces, and are doing everything possible to observe it. The BSP has not been informed about the fact that the Socialist Youth Union intends to organize a political rally on 4 October 1990. We think that such a rally could take place after the term of the political moratorium expires.

However, it is logical to expect more precision in political generalizations and qualifications at our time of profound democratic changes, especially as such generalizations and qualifications are publicly brought to the attention of our society.

You and the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] Coordinating Council should know that the Socialist Youth Union is an independent organization and the fact that some people "consider" it a "reserve" of our party is just another manifestation of a lack of understanding of the country's new political reality. It is well known that at present several socialist youth unions exist in the country and none of them is or has requested to be an organization associated with the BSP.

I would like to assure you that our party does and will do everything possible to observe the general agreements, including the agreement on the moratorium.

Christian Social Union Leader Gichev Dies

AU1010140890 Sofia BTA in English 1259 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)—Today the 63-year-old chairman of the Christian Social Union, Mr. Strakhil Gichev, died an unexpected death. He was one of the leaders of the out-of-parliament opposition in Bulgaria.

He was the son of Dimitur Gichev, an eminent leader of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party who was very popular in the past and who was repressed by the Communist regime at the end of the 1940s.

As secretary of the Vrabcha-1 Bulgarian Agrarian Party and chairman of the People's Bloc (center), Mr. Strakhil Gichev worked tirelessly for the restoration of democracy in Bulgaria, for the purity of the ideals of the Agrarian movement. The decades of physical torture and mental cruelty led to his untimely death, it is said in a obituary signed by the leaders of six out-of-parliament parties and movements.

'Road to Europe' National Conference Reported

AU1010152390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 7 Oct 90 p 1, 2

[Dora Chichkova report: "'Road to Europe' Follows Two Different Directions"]

[Text] "In addition to the Red logic and the Blue logic, there also is the logic of Aristotle and somebody must defend it." With these words, Professor Dr. Petur-Emil Mitev explained his decision to dedicate his efforts to a new nonparty public initiative related to the Europeanization of the country's political, cultural, and economic life.

As is well known, this was one of the basic goals of the "Road to Europe" at the time of its establishment in December 1989. However, this goal was pushed aside by the efforts to transform the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. In the sociopolitical situation that has emerged, it will be very difficult to implement this idea only within the framework of an internal party movement. Professor Mitev developed those thoughts at the 6 October national conference of the "Road to Europe" Movement.

"The field of European criteria becomes ever more narrow," the speaker said. "I am convinced that a new nonparty initiative aimed at enhancing common sense and decreasing social tension is necessary."

Similar views were expressed by Professor Asen Zhablenski. The two previous leaders of "Road to Europe" are not leaving the BSP. However, they think that the initiative group that acts to implement their idea must be "multicolored."

As far as the future of "Road to Europe" as an internal party ideological current is concerned, the conference decided that it must continue its activity within the framework of the Movement on a Radical change in the BSP, while preserving its specific characteristics and clubs. The proposal to disband "Road to Europe" because it has completed its role in the party, was not supported.

The conference analyzed the situation in the country and the results of the 39th BSP Congress. A new Coordinating Council was elected. It has three cochairmen: Professor Mitev, Rumen Georgiev, and Miroslav Popov.

The delegates approved the proposal to elect Rumen Georgiev, member of the BSP Supreme Council, as a delegate of the "Road to Europe" Movement to the BSP Presidium. It also was decided that the movement's cochairmen should participate in the work of the party's leadership. Thus the decision of the BSP Supreme Council of 25 September to invite the various ideological currents to participate in the meetings of the party leadership was in fact endorsed.

In his speech at the conference, Professor Petur-Emil Mitev noted that the transition toward a market economy in our country is blocked by the struggle for power. This pushes the country further along the descending steps of the economic disaster.

In his assessment of the recent 39th BSP Congress, he pointed out the role of the reform movements in working out the party platform. To a large degree it was to the "Road to Europe" that the party owes its understanding of its value system and its dissociation with the doctrines and dogmas.

However, according to Prof. Mitev the ideological documents are not the main factors of public life in systems such as ours. In this context, the delay of the party to effect the cadre change is the gravest problem. The incorrect interpretation given during the congress to the position of "Road to Europe" on this issue, turned it, according to Prof. Mitev, from a fundamental to personal issue.

In his speech, Rumen Georgiev advocated the need of giving a more pragmatic character to the activity of "Road to Europe." For his part, Prof. Zhablenski thinks that the movement has an important role as a part of the internal-party opposition. However, its future lies in relinquishing the party limits and becoming a supraparty movement.

Professor Chavdar Kyuranov, deputy chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, and Yanaki Stoilov, chairman of the Movement on Radical Change in the BSP, took part in the conference.

Data on National Newspaper Circulation Published

AU1010124490 Sofia BTA in English 1223 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)—DUMA, the paper of the Socialists, has still the greatest circulation—720,531. Its subscribers are 540,331 and the rest is sold at the newspaper stands. In the last quarter of this year the number of DUMA subscribers has grown by 3,229, of them 3,203 are outside the country. These data have been obtained from the subscription opened for the last three months of 1990.

TRUD, the daily of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions, ranks second with a circulation of 280,930. ZEMYA comes third with a circulation of 240,227. Both papers are in sagging demand, compared to the previous months of the year.

The opposition DEMOKRATSIYA has a circulation of 197,138. At the end of March the paper ranked second with 205,776 subscribers and 95,000 copies available at the newspaper stands.

OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK and ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME come fifth and sixth respectively.

POGLED, the weekly of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, heads the list of weeklies with a circulation of 379,556. It is followed by the comic STURSHEL paper with a circulation of 343,527. In a month and a half the circulation of REPORTER 7 (a private weekly) has soared from 25,000 to 40,000.

CLUB 15 and KOI SI TI (Who Are You) are among the new papers whose circulation exceeds 200,000. PSIKHOTRONIKA (Psychotronics), which is devoted to problems of parapsychology, has a circulation of more than 100 thousand. The circulation of the paper of the Union of Private Business, 168 CHASA (168 Hours), is almost 100 thousand. The rise in prices had a negative impact on the demand of ORBITA and SPORT, the papers which were very popular until recently.

Atomic Agency To Inspect Kozloduy Nuclear Plant

AU1010210790 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] On the basis of an agreement between the Agency on Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy in Vienna, represented by Mr. Rosen, director of the Nuclear Safety Department, and the Bulgarian ambassador in Vienna, on 15 October an international mission [word indistinct] will begin its work at the fifth reactor of the Kozloduy Nuclear Plant. For 12 days a group of experts will inspect the technical state, use, maintenance, and repair of the 1,000- megawatt nuclear reactor. The Bulgarian public will be acquainted with the mission's final protocol.

Foreign Ministry Condemns Attacks in Jerusalem

AU1010175690 Sofia BTA in English 1657 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)—The BTA has received a statement of a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria which says:

"The Bulgarian public has received with profound concern the news of the gory incident which occurred in Jerusalem on October 7, 1990 and which took a heavy death toll. It

marks the tragic culmination of the mounting tensions in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories.

"This latest in a series of eruptions of violence once again categorically demonstrates the need for immediate action to find a just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem which should guarantee the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state, as well as the security of all states in the region."

Soviet Oil Arrives for Burgas Petrochemical Plant

AU1010153190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Oct 90 p 1

[Maria Delibaltova report: "Soviet Oil Unloaded in Burgas"]

[Text] Burgas, 8 October—Last night, at 1900, the Bulgarian tanker "Struma," carrying 62,000 tonnes of Soviet oil, arrived at the port of the "Druzhba". "The unloading began immediately and 30,000 tonnes were delivered to the petrochemical plant," Lyubo Vidov, chief specialist of the production operational management of the Burgas petrochemical plant, reported.

The Soviet tanker "Bagramyan" delivered 51,000 tonnes of oil from the USSR, which was also promptly unloaded.

Zhelev's Activities, Success Abroad Praised

AU1010155490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 8 Oct 90 p 4

[Nenko Seymenlyiski article: "Flowers for the President"]

[Text] The Bulgarian head of state just returned from his debut on the international scene. Following the more or less enthusiastic applause which he received from different political forces, he now deserves a huge bouquet of flowers for successfully facing the limelight of television cameras and for presenting Bulgaria's new image to the world. Without neglecting the specific results of Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's first international appearance, this fact alone is sufficient to describe the president's visit to the United States, the UN, and France as an event of historical importance.

In order to avoid being accused of copying old editorials on state visits of our former head of state prior to 10 November 1989, I would like to explain why I consider Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's first presidential visit abroad as an historical event. It is the first occasion in the lifetime of two Bulgarian generations that the activities and statement of a Bulgarian head of state are subject to critical evaluations. I am convinced that in the view of our new friends in the United States, the UN, and France this fact is precisely the strongest confirmation that things have changed in Bulgaria and that our society is really becoming democratic. When Washington sent troops to Vietnam, no one in the United States demanded that the opponents of the war should be subject to trial. When Margaret Thatcher sent the British Navy to the South Atlantic, no one in Britain called the members of Parliament who expressed different opinions traitors. Monolithic unity in approving every action of a leader is a reliable confirmation of still existing totalitarianism.

Apart from this, the results of the president's visit can only please us. We are expecting 100,000 tons of grain fodder which are presumably already on their way. Let us hope that the rest of the promised U.S. assistance will also be supplied. It is true that in certain cases the assistance was granted under the condition that we wait for the consent of the State Department and of the U.S. Congress, but let us be confident that they will understand our situation. Naturally, we should also do everything necessary to deserve the confidence won by the president of Bulgaria. We should pass and enforce new laws likely to open up our country to the world and integrate it in the international market economy as soon as possible. We should promptly establish a special joint commission in charge of control over the distribution of assistance, considering that the Americans have already been disappointed on several occasions when assistance could only prolong the agony.

Some people accuse the president of "behaving like a beggar." Such people's homes must be well stocked with all goods in short supply. There is nothing disgraceful about seeking assistance. We could hardly learn how to fish, as long as we are freezing, starving, and dying of thirst. In this connection the remark of Jacques Delors, chairman of the EC Commission, who said that according to his evaluations Bulgaria should not be considered more needy than Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland, could be regarded as irrelevant. In our case the oil crisis, added to the food shortage, the energy crisis, and to numerous other crises, further contributes to the deterioration of the country's situation. It is evident that we should try harder to attract the attention of the EC to our part of the Balkan Peninsula. In this respect we should support President Mitterrand's proposal on establishing a European confederation. However, in the meantime, while waiting for this event, we could search for shortcuts along the path of our integration with the Western European institutions. The idea of political integration, which should precede the preparatory and transitional period before joining the European economic and monetary union, deserves attention, for example. In this respect, we are pleased with Mr. Jacques Delors' statement on the forthcoming preparation of an agreement for Bulgaria's association with the EC.

Bulgaria's new "image" was also demonstrated in the Oval Office, at the UN Headquarters in New York, and in the Elysee Palace. Let us hope that it made a lasting impression on the world. History will show whether the historical visit was really a turning point (which could be said about Gorbachev's 1989 visit to Berlin, for example). Our new statesmen brought a "good harvest" (as

Mr. Ludzhev expressed himself) in Washington, New York, Los Angeles, and Paris. Let us see how much grain we will store in our barn.

National Committee for Independent Kuwait Formed

AU0610202190 Sofia BTA in English 1932 GMT 6 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 6 Oct (BTA)—Mr. Lyubomir Ivanov, a member of parliament of the Union of Democratic Forces, and Mr. Ivan Garelov, a television journalist and specialist in the problems of the Middle East, are the initiators for setting up a National Committee for Restoring Kuwait to its Independence.

"The committee will make clear the new tendencies in Bulgaria's foreign policy, will insist on the restoration of the independence of Kuwait, will cooperate with the president and the government in their efforts to evacuate the Bulgarians who are still in Kuwait and Iraq," Mr. Lyubomir Ivanov stated on the television this evening.

Mr. Ivan Glushkov, a member of parliament of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and deputy chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and members of parliament representing the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, the Union of Democratic Forces and the Bulgarian Socialist Party backed up the idea. "I believe that most of the socialist parliamentarians will support the initiative," Mr. Dragomir Draganov, a Socialist Radical, said.

Zhelev Receives IMF Official Camdessus

AU1010204590 Sofia BTA in English 1903 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sofia, 10 Oct (BTA)—Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, today received Mr. Michel Camdessus, managing director of the International Monetary Fund. The president expressed the hope that the IMF will help Bulgaria implement its program for a transition from a centrally planned to a market economy.

Dr. Zhelev emphasized that Bulgaria is firmly intended to introduce bold, fast and resolute changes. "We will be disciplined partners of the International Monetary Fund," he said.

The guest emphasized that international aid will be only available if the world public will be convinced by the IMF that Bulgaria's marketization program is good and feasible.

The president of Bulgaria stressed that a political consensus will be probably reached on the program, which was introduced to the Grand National Assembly by the incumbent government, and that in turn, this consensus will guarantee its implementation.

EC Approves Programs Supporting Agrarian Reform

AU1010205490 Sofia BTA in English 2036 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Brussels, 10 Oct (BTA correspondent)—At a meeting in Strasbourg, the Commission of the European Communities today approved four projects within the framework of the Phare Program. One project envisages the allocation of 16 million ECU [European currency units] (over 21 million dollars) to support the reform of Bulgarian agriculture. The motivation of the project says that Bulgaria is still a predominantly agrarian country but its agriculture is less efficient than that of its CMEA partners and is below the EC average level.

The project is intended to help the government in the formulation and implementation of an adequate strategy for the development of Bulgarian agriculture, laying a special emphasis on the development of a dynamic private sector, the commission says in its decision.

The document lists the key elements of the project, including aid for the shaping of farming policy and for its scientific and information support, the establishment of a private farmers organization, training experts in agroeconomics and management, opening a credit line through the Farm Credit Bank to finance the import of equipment for private farmers and to assist agroindustry investment. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations will be responsible for the overall realization of the project. A special working group will be formed under the ministry's auspices.

Defense Ministry Spokesman on Gulf, Pact Forces

LD1010160690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Our special military unit going to the Persian Gulf is presently being assembled in Slany, and it will wait there for a request from Saudi Arabia. According to information given to journalists in Prague today by Colonel Petr Tax, a press attache of the defense minister's office, right now 169 soldiers and officers are getting ready. He resolutely rejected claims that soldiers were being sent to the unit against their will, and he added that there are enough of interested people.

Col. Tax also briefed representatives of the mass media on results of talks of the special Warsaw Pact commission for disarmament. The alliance will have a total of 2,000 military helicopters, including 75 in our army. Of the 30,000 military vehicles, the Czechoslovak Army will have 2,050. Discussions on the number of tanks and artillery have not yet ended.

Vacek Interviewed on Training of Unit for Gulf

AU0610181290 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Oct 90 p 2

[Interview with Army General Miroslav Vacek, minister of national defense, by Gustav Capko in Bratislava on 2 October: "Minister of Defense on the Unit for Saudi Arabia"—first paragraph is RUDE PRAVO introduction]

[Excerpts] Bratislava (from our correspondent)—On the basis of readers' letters, I asked Minister of National Defense M. Vacek a few questions concerning the conflict in the Persian Gulf.

[Capko] In connection with the threat of a military conflict in the Persian Gulf, the CSFR announced that it is considering sending a special anti-chemical warfare unit to Saudi Arabia. Is it sufficiently known which chemical weapons Iraq is likely to use in the event of a conflict?

[Vacek] I would like to say, first of all, that the fact that Czechoslovakia is considering sending an anti-chemical unit [to the Gulf] does not at all mean that there might be a feeling of guilt on our part, that we had perhaps been training specialists from Iraq in the use of these substances. The Czechoslovak Army has never trained them in their use.

We do not have any specific data as to the kind of chemical substances at Iraq's disposal. But we assume that these could be chemical substances such as VX, Sarin, and similar types, i.e. substances that are commonly used. Our specialists are being trained so that they master the skills needed to be used against these weapons. Naturally, the training also involves techniques for the decontamination of persons or equipment. [passage omitted]

[Capko] Where is this unit being trained for its mission?

[Vacek] The training takes place at about five locations, which is not devoid of problems.

[Capko] Is it necessary to obtain the CSFR Federal Assembly's consent in order to dispatch the unit to Saudi Arabia?

[Vacek] As far as I am aware, the [decision on the] use of this unit falls within the jurisdiction of the Federal Assembly. In other words, its possible deployment would require, apart from the consent of the president of the Republic, also a decision by the CSFR Federal Assembly, provided, of course, that Saudi Arabia requests this form of our assistance. After receiving this request we would deal with the technical matters.

[Capko] Thank you for the interview.

Foreign Ministry Condemns Jerusalem Events

LD1010144190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Lubos Dobrovsky, deputy minister and spokesman for the Foreign Ministry, has issued a statement in which he strongly condemned the attack against Jews at the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem. He stated that the vicious circle of the Arab-Israeli conflict has seriously complicated the extraordinarily complex situation in the area once again. He repeated the standpoint of our Foreign Ministry, which is that the conflict between the Arabs and Israel can and must be dealt with exclusively by means of talks.

The Czechoslovak foreign minister is deeply concerned at and strongly protests against the action of the Israeli law-and-order units who carry the moral and legal responsibility for the wasted lives of the Palestinians. At the same time it points out that it would be a serious mistake if the attention of the world public were to be diverted because of this tragic event from a critical evaluation of the aggressive behavior of Saddam Husayn against Kuwait. The use of force by one is not a justification for the use of force by another, the statement says.

Calfa Discusses Soviet Oil Shortfalls

LD0610105190 Prague Television Service in Czech 1850 GMT 5 Oct 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified correspondent on the "10 Minutes With the Premier" program in Prague on 5 October—live or recorded; correspondent speaks in Czech, Calfa in Slovak]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] Mr. Premier, it is Friday [5 October], just before midday. What is the current situation concerning your proposed visit to Moscow?

[Calfa] We still do not have any news. Yesterday morning, I asked the Soviet ambassador to announce this visit and accede to our request. I assume that the

Soviet leaders are now studying our request. Perhaps the ambassador will report back to us.

[Correspondent] What arguments will you be taking to Moscow with you, so to speak? What should our people know about the current situation? (?What would) you like to tell them at this moment?

[Calfa] Well, I was expecting this question, because it is something which genuinely occupies the public's mind at the moment. So, I would like to clearly tell our people what the issues are, as far as oil is concerned. We have agreed with the Soviet Union that they would supply us with 16.6 million tonnes of oil this year. In the first half of the year, the Soviet Union's deliveries fell 1.2 million tonnes short of the half-year figure of 8.3 million tonnes. In the third quarter, its deliveries were another 1.2 million tonnes short, which means that in the first three-quarters of this year, the Soviet Union's deliveries were 2.4 million tonnes short of the signed agreement. [passage omitted]

Here it must be said again, clearly, that Czechoslovakia did not reckon on this development from the beginning of the year. But, since it has happened, we are trying to balance it, but to balance it, however, by using our own resources, our own stocks. At the same time, we are making purchases abroad. Therefore, the trend in Czechoslovakia is that further shortfalls in deliveries mean that Czechoslovakia is beginning to experience an absolute shortage of oil and oil-based products, and strategic and operational stocks are slowly running down. If this trend continues, it will mean that Czechoslovakia will experience an absolute oil shortage, with all the ensuing consequences. That is, ending chemical production operations, and facing shortages of products needed in other industries, and so on. In other words, it would be an exceptionally hard blow to the whole operation of the national economy.

In this situation, the federal government has had a lot to say. It has decided to tackle this situation vigorously. That means not only the visit to the Soviet Union, but an overall review of consumption in Czechoslovakia, of the structure of our industrial consumption of oil and oil derivatives, and of the way in which these oil-based products are used, including heating oil and so forth. In other words, we must reverse this present trend, which (?reflects) the past. We must reverse it by ascertaining the precise and positive future needs for oil and oil-based products in Czechoslovakia. It will be expensive, because after 1 January it will be paid for in hard currency.

[Correspondent] Mr. Premier, visits by our politicians to Moscow have tended to be followed by the public with differing degrees of interest. This time, I think, the public will be very interested to see how your talks turn out. We all trust that they will succeed in reaching agreement on at least something. Let me, therefore, ask another question. This situation has brought into being what you yourself called a crisis team, when the three premiers met together with their economic officials. What I would like to ask is this: Will this method continue to be applied, or does it apply only to the current oil and gasoline problems?

[Calfa] I have already said that the situation, given the deterioration in the oil suply, calls for exceptional methods of (?response) and decisionmaking. I appointed the crisis team as a specific body to deal with these problems. This has proven useful, above all because all three representatives of the executive powers of the federation and the republics met at the same table with the president of the Republic. In this direct and straightforward way, they managed to take certain joint measures, and, of course, they also managed at the same time to assess exactly (?what) the results of these measures will be in the economic and political spheres. In other words, this was an opportunity which made it possible to discuss the situation in a comprehensive way and adopt a comprehensive conclusion. My view is that it would probably not be unlikely that there would be a need to tackle similar exceptional situations, and that if the need arises, this kind of [word indistinct] would not be unlikely in the future, too. [passage omitted]

I want to say that we are only a few months away from the beginning of really profound economic changes, which we are expecting after 1 January next year. We are already getting signals that in our course of action there is truly a need for fundamental unity, not only among all the state bodies of the federation and republics, but also in the whole political sphere. So, I think that there is really a need to see this government approach as an absolute priority. I appeal to everyone to assist us in this fundamental government effort to really begin the economic reforms we declared in our program, so anything which hinders this effort is eliminated, and so we can try to become united, at least for a time, for the future of Czechoslovakia.

[Correspondent] Thank you for the interview, and we are keeping our fingers crossed for you on your visit to Moscow.

[Calfa] Thank you, we are going to need it.

Embassy Publishes 'Facts' on Soviet Oil Deals

LD0910024490 Prague Television Service in Czech 2107 GMT 8 Oct 90

[Text] Unofficial reports indicate Mikhail Gorbachev agrees to the CSFR-USSR summit on oil supplies and, apparently, has only asked for time to have the relevant documents prepared.

The fact that President Gorbachev is now fully occupied with the finishing touches to the program on the transfer of the Soviet economy to market relations that will be presented to the Supreme Soviet by 15 October has certainly played its part in this.

It looks as though the CSFR-USSR summit will take place in the next few days.

The CSFR Embassy in Moscow will hand to Soviet media tomorrow a statement summarizing the facts about the supplies of Soviet crude oil to the CSFR from the beginning of this year. The statement also explains why the CSFR is asking to meet Gorbachev and Ryzhkov.

[Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 2030 GMT on 8 October adds in a similar report: "The CSFR Embassy in Moscow has published facts about Soviet oil deliveries to the CSFR this year in an attempt to provide Soviet media with better information. The statement notes that the nonfulfillment of agreements and promises has serious consequences for the CSFR economy and prompted Premier Marian Calfa's call for a summit. The threat to whole industrial sectors has lead us to purchase oil for freely convertible currency. In effect, we are forced to buy this oil a second time, as we have already paid for it with goods deliveries. This practice is unheard of in foreign trade, the statement notes."]

Meciar Interviewed Prior to Visit to Poland

LD1010034190 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 9 Oct 90

[Interview with Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, by correspondent Michal Michalcik on 9 October; place of interview not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Michalcik] Mr. Premier, in the next three days in Warsaw and Krakow, you will meet with almost all of the political leadership in today's Poland, with the exception of Lech Walesa. What are the main goals and aims of this visit?

[Meciar] The goal in the first place is to establish contacts between the Slovak Republic and the Republic of Poland, which will correspond to the new democratization processes in both countries. It is the first ever delegation of this kind going to Poland from the Slovak Republic. During the course of this visit there will be quite important talks which are intended to both establish personal contact. Civic Forum and Solidarity had these contacts, but they were weaker in Slovakia.

We are also interested in discussing questions of mutual economic cooperation, in particular in the engineering area. We wish to consider questions of ecology, to interest ourselves in Slovaks living in Poland, and to discuss everything else which concerns Slovaks and Poles.

[Michalcik] The current situation concerning supplies of goods in Slovakia is not the best. We know that the inhabitants of northern Slovakia are literally terrified of the possibility of opening small-scale cross-border contacts with Poland. What is your standpoint?

[Meciar] Small-scale border contacts exist today, don't they? It is regulated to a certain extent. The regulation takes the form that where there were once permits issued for a single visit these no longer exist today. Naturally, the Poles are very interested in these questions. We will discuss them. I expect that we will not arrive at a direct conclusion at these talks, but our standpoints and methods of arriving at solutions should become very close. So, the solutions themselves will have to wait until there are further measures which the Federal Government will undertake after our visit.

[Michalcik] The Polish press is trying to convince us that we allegedly do not understand the Polish mentality, the Polish tourists' spirit. In Western Europe, many countries have said no to Poland on this issue. We have been silent until now. Why do you think that is?

[Meciar] We understand the Polish mentality, we respect the Polish people. But any country anywhere resists so-called price economy which comes in even in the guise of stimulating tourism. No one is closing borders to tourists. On the contrary, we will look for ways of encouraging as many as possible. But every state protects itself from the black market which can threaten supplies, which fluctuate considerably, when there is a shortage of goods. It protects its tax system, which is the problem of the Western states and it protects supplies to shops, which is our problem.

[Michalcik] Accompanying you is not only Deputy Premier Kucerak, but many ministers. Can it be said that the visit is to encompass wide issues?

[Meciar] Bishop Tondra, along with members of the government, is a member of the government delegation. We expect to have a meeting with high representatives of the Catholic Church of Poland. Naturally, if two nations have a frontier as long as ours is, if they live next to each other as long as we have, they have to look for everything which brings them together. Because of this the members of the government will be individually developing concrete programs and preparing concrete agreements so that cooperation, information, and relations improve.

[Michalcik] In Krakow you will meet with Slovaks living in Poland. How do you expect this meeting to go?

[Meciar] They have quite a few problems: problems of education, problems of religious worship in their own language, and they will clearly tell us more about their difficulties. They are citizens of the Polish Republic. If we enter into agreements with the Polish Government we will look for ways of helping them in their daily lives, whether in a material way or otherwise. The period ahead of us should be understood by Poland as an offer of great cooperation. I think that if we share the work in some areas where cooperation is such that neither one can work without the other, both of us can only benefit.

Brazilian Magazine Interviews Vaclav Havel

PY0710012490 Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese
3 Oct 90 pp 52, 53

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel, by VEJA reporter Fabio Altman at the Presidential Palace in Prague on 28 September]

[Text] [Altman] Which is more difficult: being a member of the opposition or head of government?

[Havel] Head of government, of course.

[Altman] You practically left jail for the Prague Castle, from where you govern the Republic. What should be done to those responsible for the crimes and arbitrarinesses committed during the communist regime?

[Havel] I realize that the people seek justice and often some revenge is taken on dictators, but I am against any type of revenge, because it leads to an extremely dangerous vicious circle. In the interest of the country, those who committed crimes must appear in court and be tried in accordance with the laws, without vengeful objectives. I have no personal rancor. I feel sorry for those who put me in jail. Besides, jails train people for power very well: They teach us not to be surprised at anything.

[Altman] The expression "authoritarian rubble" was adopted in Brazil at the end of the military regime to define the antidemocratic laws and acts that dictatorships leave behind. How is your country dealing with this reality?

[Havel] This is one of our most serious problems, and we are seeking a way of putting an end to it, because this "authoritarian rubble" still exists. It exists mostly in certain social sectors that continue to think in accordance with totalitarian models. We must combine the pressure that comes from below, from the citizens who can no longer bear to be submissive, with administrative measures that may allow us to get rid of the communist vices. Only by doing these two things simultaneously—changing the people's consciences and the administrative rules—will we be able to sweep away the residue of totalitarianism.

[Altman] Did the velvet revolution end?

[Havel] I would rather not use the expression velvet revolution. I do not like it. This was an expression made up by a Western journalist. It is true that we are experiencing a peaceful revolution, but I do not believe it has ended yet. Very much the opposite. We are now facing new and delicate challenges. Many of the ideals and values raised by the revolution last year have not been achieved yet. Most of the way is still ahead of us. This is a long-term process that we cannot consider finished.

[Altman] Why has the transition to a market economy been slower in your country than in other East European countries such as Poland and Hungary?

[Havel] Undoubtedly, our most urgent task is to transform our economy and to end excessive state control of the economy so that more companies can go into private hands. This, however, is our largest problem. Our laws prevent a swifter privatization of companies, the political system continues to be vicious, and the huge driving deficiencies are still an obstacle. None of these problems can be solved independently. This is why changes cannot and should not be abrupt. Furthermore, powerful structures of the old regime are still functioning in this Republic. Those who oppose the changes control many townhalls and have close ties with the companies.

[Altman] The world has improved a great deal since the peaceful East European revolution occurred last year. However, huge problems, such as poverty and social inequality, contiue to exist. How can your country and the other countries that have suddenly won freedom and democracy contribute to solving them?

[Havel] From a certain point of view, my country has also become a developing country and suffers all the evils related to backwardness. This occurred not only to us. Other countries of Eastern and Central Europe have also experienced a similar process. The USSR, for example, is also considered a developing nation. I believe, therefore, that the first step is to achieve mutual understanding and to leave totalitarianism and the Third World behind. This understanding will be the basis for cooperation in other areas.

[Altman] What is the "overall revolution at the level of human conscience" that you have mentioned? And how can it be implemented?

[Havel] After so many years of totalitarian regime, the relations among people have been completely subverted and dismantled. The totalitarian mafias devastated our country and introduced despair and apathy into our society. Any change in our politics or economy must be accompanied by the transformation of the conscience of the people. An ailing economy—and what we had in Czechoslovakia during the communist regime can hardly be defined as economy—has a human aspect, a moral dimension. If we really want to change our country's structure, we must work hard on educating our society to make everyone realize that the stagnation of the past is tragic. Every day, in every area, people must realize that the vicious behavior that dominated the country can no longer be allowed.

[Altman] Millions of people all over the world have believed in the socialist ideal and have fought and died for it. Does the downfall of the East European bloc signify that, as an ideology, socialism is dead?

[Havel] First of all, we must point out that the people who believed in socialism and those who died for it were fighting for something different from what has just collapsed. We must be very careful if we really want to understand the term socialism. There are various shades to the term: There is Stalin's socialism and Willy Brandt's (former FRG prime minister and leader of the

Democratic Socialist Party) socialism. Personally, I like to say that what has ceased to exist is the totalitarian system of the communist type, and not socialism.

[Altman] What do you expect from your meeting with President Collor de Mello?

[Havel] I hope our meeting will open the possibility of a political rapprochement between our two countries that have so much in common. I would also like to lay the concrete bases for future economic cooperation between Brazil and Czechoslovakia.

[Altman] Who succeeds better: the artist who goes into politics or the politician who goes into the arts?

[Havel] I do no know many politicians who dedicate themselves to the arts, but my artistic experience with the theater is quite applicable to politics. Art is a useful way of preparing for politics, although it is not common to use artistic training for that. As Adam Michnik (Polish historian and one of the leaders of the democratic transition in his country) has written: We did not choose politics; we were chosen by it. We have joined the political world to ensure that in the future we artists will no longer be necessary.

Meciar Explains Absence From State Dinner

LD0810044190 Prague CTK in English 1919 GMT 7 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 7 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar appeared on Slovak television tonight to explain his absence from the dinner given in Prague for visiting Brazilian President Fernando Collor on October 1 for which he was criticized by Czechoslovak presidential press spokesman Michael Zantovsky.

Invited to the ceremonial dinner was also Slovak National Council (parliament) Chairman Frantisek Miklosko. He was not at the dinner either.

Premier Meciar said that at the time of the Brazilian president's arrival in Czechoslovakia on October 1 (he spent a mere 22 hours in the country) the Slovak National Council was in session at which declaration of certain sovereignty of the Slovak Republic, one of the two constituent parts of Czechoslovakia, and serious criticism of Czechoslovak President Havel were to be made. In this situation, we decided that our place is not at a dinner, but there where problems may arise, Vladimir Meciar said.

He and Frantisek Miklosko agreed to apologize for their absence from the dinner at the Foreign Ministry and at Prague Castle, but the staffer of the Slovak premier's secretariat charged with the explanation did not properly follow instructions. For this she has been fired from her post. An apology was delivered also to the Brazilian Embassy in Prague.

However, some mass media and especially press spokesman for the Czechoslovak President Michael Zantovsky drew the conclusion that we did not apologize and challenged our interest in the federation, Vladimir Meciar said.

He stressed the Slovak representative's respect for the Czechoslovak president as the moral authority and head of state but this respect cannot automatically extend to his apparatus, the premier added.

The words of Mr. Zantovsky and his challenging of our interest in the Federation have drawn broad negative response of mass media in the Czech Republic, Vladimir Meciar pointed out asking who needs to introduce unrest, hatred, disinformation between the Czech and Slovak nations at a time when they badly need agreement on a joint course of action (in carrying out economic reform and building democracy after the fall of the communist regime last November).

The Slovak premier also assured his Slovak compatriots that the statement of Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus that a top-ranking delegation of the Slovak Republic conducted talks with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank is entirely untrue. It was spread in the Czech Republic without knowledge of the Slovak leadership. It is completely groundless, the premier added. (Minister Klaus signed in September documents on Czechoslovakia's readmission into the two world financial institutions.)

Dienstbier Participates in UN General Assembly

Meets With Foreign Ministers

AU0810153190 Prague CTK in English 1341 GMT 4 Oct 90

[Text] New York Oct 4 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier and UN Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar stated here yesterday that after the end of cold war the significance and possibilities of the United Nations are increasing.

They said that now this organization can focus on coordination and promotion of international cooperation in solving global problems.

Minister Dienstbier said that Czechoslovakia, if asked, would send a military unit of battalion strength to take part in some of the UN peace-keeping operations. He handed a letter to the UN secretary general with a concrete proposal for the use of Bratislava Trade Union Buildings by the UN Vienna-based Centre. Javier Perez de Cuellar welcomed these proposals and appreciated Dienstbier's announcement on preparing new Czechoslovak staff for work in the UN secretariat.

The Czechoslovak minister also met with his Maltese counterpart Guido de Marco. They agreed on the need to seek new ways of increasing the UN efficiency under the new conditions. When exchanging views on the outcome of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in

Europe (CSCE) Ministerial Meeting in New York on October 1-2, De Marco favoured the candidature of Prague as a seat of the CSCE secretariat.

At a meeting with Belorussian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchenko, both officials discussed establishment of direct contacts between Belorussia and Czechoslovakia, the Czech and the Slovak Republics.

In the course of a meeting with Saudi Arabian Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal the ministers called for an all-round development of mutual relations, including economic ties. They stated that many impulses in this respect emerged during the talks between the Saudi Arabian minister and Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel in New York on Sunday and that the incentives will be discussed in detail when a Czechoslovak delegation led by President's adviser Richard Wagner will visit Saudi Arabia in the near future.

The Saudi minister evaluated Czechoslovakia's offer to send an antichemical unit to the Persian Gulf and confirmed Saudi Arabia would see to its transport from Czechoslovakia. Minister Dienstbier invited the Prince to pay a visit to Czechoslovakia. The visit is due to take place in December 1990 and establishment of diplomatic ties between these two countries is to be discussed.

Comments on New York Talks

LD0510155190 Prague CTK in English 1246 GMT 5 Oct 90

[Text] New York, 5 Oct (CTK correspondent)—The UN General Assembly debate was dominated by the enormous changes in Central and Eastern Europe and by the Persian Gulf crisis, Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier who took part in the two-week discussions told CTK here today.

He underlined the significance of the fact that the international community has taken unified action against the Iraqi aggression. It would be ideal to solve the crisis by diplomatic means. The majority of countries hope that it will be possible but they are aware at the same time that the result must be quite unambiguous, Jiri Dienstbier stressed.

Dealing with his bilateral talks in New York, he said he discussed with many partners new possibilities offered by Czechoslovakia's development, ways of coping with the newly emerged difficulties and easing the unfavourable impact of the crisis in the Persian Gulf on the country's economy. The discussions showed that it is necessary to quickly analyze the losses caused by the crisis and suggest to partners concrete proposals and ways of overcoming them, he said and underlined the significance of the discussions with Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis, Japan's Takeshi Nakayama, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and above all with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze who promised to see that the Soviet Union fulfils its obligations and supplies Czechoslovakia with oil.

Minister Dienstbier said that he stressed at the consultative meeting of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers that the countries must agree upon quotas of individual types of weapons. It is politically completely inadmissible to impede the European summit in Paris by the inability of Central and Eastern European democracies to reach an agreement as regards arms contingents, he stressed, adding that in contradistinction to other countries Czechoslovakia does not demand an increase of its quotas. The other countries' demands considerably exceeded the limit agreed upon for the Warsaw Pact.

The discussions must be completed by the end of October to prepare the treaty for signing at the Paris summit. Czechoslovakia as Warsaw Pact coordinator has submitted concrete proposals concerning the arms quotas and hopes that an agreement will be reached in Prague next week.

Views Security Structures

AU0510164690 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 5 Oct 90

[Interview with CSFR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by Georg Possaner in New York "on the sidelines of the CSCE meeting"; date not given: "Cooperation Instead of Neutrality"]

[Text] [Possaner] Prague is to become the seat of the permanent CSCE Secretariat. What will its functions be? Will it rather be an organizational or a political institution?

[Dienstbier] This will, above all, depend on the mandate. In any case, it will be small. There will only be five or six diplomats who will be supported by the embassies of their countries. It will follow the CSCE process, it will gather proposals and information, and organize meetings. This is both a technical and a political task.

[Possaner] Now that you can be certain that one institution will be established in Prague, will you support Austria's application for a center for the prevention of conflicts?

[Dienstbier] No decision has been made yet, but this is quite possible. Berlin is also interested in this center.

[Possaner] What conflicts might be conceivable?

[Dienstbier] Now that the East-West conflict has been overcome and we hope that relations between the East and West will become as good as relations between the NATO states, conflicts might arise as a result of nationalist movements and from economic collapses. They might also result from tensions between ethnic groups and differences between minorities that were suppressed for 40 years and are beginning to emerge now. Ecological

dangers may also become causes for conflicts and rivalries. Finally, threats from other parts of the world cannot be ruled out either.

[Possaner] What can the center for the prevention of conflicts do in this connection?

[Dienstbier] It will closely observe developments and try at an early stage to mediate between the potential parties to the conflict.

[Possaner] Does the CSFR intend to become neutral if the Warsaw Pact dissolves?

[Dienstbier] One cannot simply declare one's neutrality. It must be accepted. Sometimes, neutrality does not even help, as the historic example of Belgium shows.

[Possaner] I am referring to the Austria's permanent neutrality.

[Dienstbier] Austria's neutrality is accepted and internationally guaranteed (It is not). However, it would not be an advantage for our country.

[Possaner] Why not?

[Dienstbier] Previously, neutrality had an important mediating function and demonstrated that security can also be ensured outside the blocs. Toward what countries in Europe should we be neutral? I do not consider it useful for one country after the other to declare its neutrality. As long as the entire region from San Francisco to Vladivostok is not neutral, we will not have more security.

One thing is certain: Real cooperation is better than any neutrality.

[Possaner] What status do you want for your country?

[Dienstbier] What status? We want to retain our freedom of decision, we want to participate in the Helsinki process (CSCE), and join the EC as soon as we are in a position to do so. We want to take part in the development of an economically united European region where the same standard of law, the same human rights, and the same environmental standards prevail.

[Possaner] Dos this mean that you do not want to join the other alliance—NATO—as has been presumed occasionally?

[Dienstbier] No. Why should we? We believe that this block should also be part of a more comprehensive structure that should include all countries. Otherwise we will never overcome the division of Europe. This does not mean that NATO should be dissolved but that it should be integrated into this structure.

President Havel on Soviet Oil, Gulf, Reform

LD0710174690 Prague CTK in English 1630 GMT 7 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 7 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel said in his regular radio speech today that Czechoslovakia seeks top-level talks with the USSR since the Soviet side does not fulfill additional agreements on oil supplies either.

The decision to ask for a summit meeting was made on October 3 as earlier agreed supplies of Soviet oil (paid in rubles) to Czechoslovakia are dwindling.

The oil problem is not only a matter of business and dollars, but of stability of a country in Central Europe. The possible jeopardy of Czechoslovakia's economy in consequence of shortage of oil might have a far-reaching impact on talks on Europe's future and on the authority of the USSR, President Vaclav Havel stressed.

He went on to say that at all talks on the future of the Warsaw Pact and on a new peaceful European set-up, Czechoslovakia is trying to sensitively respect the interests of the Soviet Union and the authority of its present leadership. However, if agreements are evidently broken, Czechoslovakia will not feel bound to display "excessive consideration."

The president pointed out that the transformation of the Czechoslovak society is being realized in difficult international conditions when the huge Russian empire is collapsing, is seeking its identity and is being remade into something that is entirely new.

Therefore, Czechoslovakia's confused internal political conditions are not only the result of the "clumsiness of those who came to power," Vaclav Havel said.

Referring to the disillusionment of part of the Czechoslovak population (with the developments in the country after the velvet revolution on which they pinned their hopes), the president pointed out the necessity for making transparent the line of the Czechoslovak leadership, proving its conceptual character, and showing energy in pushing through changes. People must know why they are to make sacrifices (of economic nature). A difficult period of about two years must be expected which will be accompanied by social shocks. People will rebel against them, there will be strikes, Vaclav Havel said.

Speaking about the possible sending of a unit of medical workers and specialists in identification of chemical weapons to Saudi Arabia, he said that it has been approved by parliament and it will leave there if an official invitation is sent by the Arab country.

Deployment of this unit was described by Vaclav Havel as confirmation of Czechoslovakia's new policy based on the idea of indivisiveness of freedom, justice and human rights.

Nonparty Group Revived; Calls For Pithart Ouster

LD0610222890 Prague CTK in English 1956 GMT 6 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 6 (CTK)—More than 300 delegates met here today at the constituent congress of the Club of Committed Non-Party Members (KAN), which was formed by people standing outside the Communist Party of Czechoslovaia during the revival process in Czechoslovakia in 1968, but was disbanded following the Soviet-led invasion of the country in August of that year.

Restoring this political movement, its representatives endorsed the ideals of freedom and democracy, and pledged to participate in [an] effort at political and religious toleration and struggle against all forms of discrimination. KAN also espouses the ideas of general equality, social justice, world peace and cooperation between nations.

The movement, in 1968 allegedly labelled by the then Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev as the most dangerous organization in Czechoslovaia, wants to become a political platform for people [who are] not members of any party and make it possible for them to become fully-fledged participants in public life, including independent candidates for elections to representative bodies.

KAN will, inter alia, press for passing and expanding legal guarantees of the freedom of speech, for consolidation of Czechoslovak statehood, and will struggle against usurpation of power by one political party or coalition.

The Club of Committed Non-Party Members wants to become a political movement of a broad variety of opinions, but unlike the Civic Forum (winning movement of the June 9 parliamentary elections together with the Public Against Violence in Slovakia) it will have a vertical struggle.

In the nearest future, KAN will concentrate on building a broad coalition of democratic and anti-totalitarian forces.

The constituent congress of the Club of Committed Non-Party Members here today voiced non-confidence in Czech Premier Petr Pithart and called for his release from the post.

The congress also endorsed authentic Czechoslovak Federation, gave support to the government blueprint for economic reform of the end of August, and voiced disagreement of principle with all manifestations of nationalism.

The club has a membership of some 10,000. It has withdrawn from the Civic Forum and wants to go to the municipal elections on November 23-24 as an independent force.

Members Elect Chairman

LD0610225190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 6 Oct 90

[Text] [Announcer] The constitutent congress of the Club of Committed Nonparty Members [KAN] was held in Prague today. After it ended, our editor Vaclav Musilek phoned in this report:

[Musilek] Although this was a historic event, a feature of the congress from the outset was its businesslike atmosphere and painstaking efforts to stick to the aims set beforehand. The main aims were to approve KAN's statutes and organizational structure and to elect its bodies. After many comments by the delegates—who numbered more than 300 at the congress—they succeeded in approving these basic documents. They state, among other things, that membership of KAN is open only to people who are not and have never been in any political party.

One question that received particular attention in the discussion was KAN's attitude to Civic Forum. The view prevailed that despite the reservations KAN currently had about Civic Forum, it would not desert the platform; on the contrary, it would form a counterbalance to the predominantly left-wing orientation of Civic Forum's present leadership.

The basic ideas of the congress were also reflected in the final resolution, in which KAN rejected party ideologies, socialism and communism; the idea of coexistence between the Czechs and Slovaks on the basis of equal rights in a federative state, and the need to establish the conditions for a market economy.

The KAN congress also addressed the fundamental political issues of the day. Among other things, it is calling for Czech Premier Petr Pithart to be recalled for his conciliatory attitude toward members of the Communist Party, and for the sources of income of people who wish to purchase shops and service outlets in the small privatization to be made public. It is also proposing that the prosecutor's department should investigate the activity of the Communist Party over the past 40 years.

The congress wound up by electing a new chairman. He is Bohdan Dvorak of Pardubice, who stated that KAN should be the orthodox core of Civic forum, which the moral qualities of its members predestine it to be.

Infighting Among Socialist Party Reported

AU0910102190 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 1 Oct 90 p 1

["sch"-signed report: "Much Criticism About Nothing"]

[Text] Prague—Much criticism addressed to various sides was heard at Saturday's conference of members and officials of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS]. SVOBODNE SLOVO and Melantrich [publishing house], trying to free themselves from the CSS bondage,

were criticized the most. The participants were informed that criminal charges had been filed against [Melantrich] Director M. Nevole and [SVOBODNE SLOVO] Chief Editor L. Petrik (both have been recalled by the CSS leadership once again, against the will of employees). Demands were heard asking for a tough solution—by force.

No one from the existing CSS leadership, apparatus, and presidium were spared criticism, however. Voices demanding their resignation were heard. Due to the differences within the CSS, its popularity has dropped to 1.2 percent, while the Social Democracy, for example, has recorded a rise to 6.7 percent. Participants in the conference expressed their negative opinion regarding the nonexistence of a clear CSS program and orientation. It needs to be added that among the 293 participants, there were enough of those who called for a sensible solution to the crisis in the party and to its relation to Melantrich and SVOBODNE SLOVO. And what was the result of the many hours of debate? An arduously elaborated resolution, according to which, among other things, a Prague and Czech Land Assembly should be convened by 10 November. According to this resolution, participants insist on political and material-and-legal relations to Melantrich and SVOBODNE SLOVO and subscribe to the traditions of the National Socialist Party. In the lobbies we gained the impression that the meeting missed the objective of becoming the longed-for unifying element of ideas and only served as a platform for the exchange of still differing opinions.

Civic Forum Reacts to Mohorita's Comments

LD0910041390 Prague CTK in English 2026 GMT 8 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 8 (CTK)—The Civic Forum Coordinating Centre today said that "the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has had ten months for recognizing its guilt for joining in democratic political life. It has not used this chance offered to it by the policy of national understanding. Once again we are witnesses to effort at a power change."

This is said in a statement, handed over to CTK, on yesterday's appearance by Czechoslovak Communist Party Chairman Vasil Mohorita at the 5th session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, in which he said, among other things, that the blueprint for economic reform in Czechoslovakia means "an end to national understanding and the beginning of a hard and uncompromosing struggle."

The Civic Forum statement went on to say that "we have taken a lesson from history. We know that from World War II the Communist Party led a hard and indiscriminate struggle for monopoly power in our country. Therefore, we are not much surprised by the appeal made by Vasil Mohorita on October 7."

"The November (1989) revolution was born out of the idea of national understanding. It is symptomatic that it is the communists again who negates this idea as the first," the statement said.

Vasil Mohorita's stand has been rejected also by the Club of Committed Nonparty Members (KAN), the Confederation of Trade Unions of Slovakia and the Confederation of Political Prisoners.

President Havel Comments on Economy, Politics

AU0510145990 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 1 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Alexander Kramer "in an airplane somewhere over the Atlantic" on 29 September: "The World Is a Great Drama"; first paragraph is LIDOVE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] In the airplane over Atlantic, on his way to the UN Summit for Children in New York, Vaclav Havel, CSFR president, granted the following interview to LIDOVE NOVINY's special correspondent.

[Kramer] Mr. President, my first questions concern the now so topical economic problems. In your speech in parliament on 29 June you said: "Also our intention, declared so many times, to carry out the reform in such a way as to avoid strong social shocks, high inflation, or even the loss of basic social guaranties, must be accepted by our economists as a task given to them. Here, the 'it-cannot-be-done' attitude does not apply." These words of yours probably surprised a number of people. You often speak of humbleness, about a certain order of things that is given. This statement of yours, however, seems to be rather an expression of thinking that is based on the pride of reason and on the persuasion that everything would be possible in the economy, if we just want it to . How does this go together?

[Havel] I do not believe that what I said was an expression of the pride of reason. I believe that it was an expression of the desire to elevate human, moral, and political values above the mere laws of business. Marxists claimed that all that is happening in the world is determined by the logic of history, which only they have learned and, because of that, they are able to control and foresee everything. By this, they deprived man of the freedom to decide his own destiny, and of the right to have a say on public matters and delegated all activity to the "logic of history." I believe that we should not move toward a similar deterministic extreme and fall on our knees before the allegedly unchangeable, self-governed, independent-of-man, and inexorable laws of business, supply and demand.

I am of the opinion that politics must retain its influence on the economy. This is the case in all developed democracies. For example, we have to retain political influence so that our country has a multilateral external economic orientation —we must not allow our country to be economically dependent on one country in a

one-sided way. There are a number of situations in which the moral or political aspect must be placed above the economic one.

We have said, for example, that we want to have a Europe without barbed wire and iron curtains and that we want to open ourselves to the entire world. Sooner or later we will therefore also have to open ourselves to our neighbor, Poland. We have to bear the economic consequences of this step—and economic mechanisms must be found which would keep its negative impact on our economy to a minimum. This is simply our task. We cannot just sit with our arms folded and say that the law of supply and demand will do everything for us. This would mean depriving the human personality with its ideals and social needs of all its importance and influence on the course of events. Everything, including our thinking, information, and the way of life, would be determined only by the laws of the market. In my opinion such an attitude represents one of the dangers that threaten the civilization. Let us have a look at this from a global viewpoint—let us realize, for example, what it would actually mean if we shaped our attitude toward the present Persian Gulf crisis only according to purely economic interests. Certainly, we would be able to acquire large amounts of crude oil from Iraq—but is it possible to think like that?

[Kramer] They say, Mr. President, that among your advisers there are a number of adherents to the economic ideas and concepts of the "Prague Spring." That is, the so-called third way, or, market socialism. You have yourself stressed in an interview with a British paper that you had never stated that you wanted to introduce capitalism in Czechoslovakia. Can you be more specific about your ideas?

[Havel] Your question is probably inspired by the fact that one of the members of the Council of Consultants is Professor Ota Sik. I do not know about any other man of the "Prague Spring" in the circle of my consultants. In the Council of Consultants there are also Tomas Bata, Ondrej Jonas, and many others who have nothing in common with the "Prague Spring." Speaking matter-of-factly, this is not true. Yet I would like to add something to it. It often happens today—I can see it particularly in the press—that anyone who draws attention to social aspects and impacts of the reform and tries to include them in his considerations about it, anyone who points out that the economic reform is not possible without a basic political stability—which can be weakened by social shocks—that is, whoever thinks like that is very often labeled not only as a man of the "Prague Spring", or a reform Communist, but also as a crypto-communist, strangler of the reform, opponent of the market mechanism.... This is demagogy, in my opinion.

[Kramer] When standing in a line for potatoes, which did not arrive anyway, I heard one elderly lady ask a rhethorical question: What did we miss during the Communist rule, anyway?! For a number of our fellow citizens freedom is quite an abstract notion, yet potatoes are very tangible. What would you tell this lady?

[Havel] I would tell her to vote for communists in the next elections.

[Kramer] Would it be logical and correct, in your opinion, if the Civic Forum, which is an umbrella organization for a wide political spectrum, transformed itself into several political parties even during this term of parliament?

[Havel] Everything suggests that it would be better if the Civic Forum existed, for some time, as a pluralistic political movement—at least until the local elections are held, perhaps until the next parliamentary elections. Nevertheless, I do not consider this to be a decisive factor. To tell the truth, it does not matter whether the Civic Forum remains as one bloc or whether it splits into two or three political parties—what is important is that an atmosphere of concord, responsibility for the state [statotvornost], and cooperation prevails in it. If a single Civic Forum has a strong political leadership knowing what it wants and capable of positively influencing the leadership of the state, or if the Civic Forum splits into two or three new political parties capable of doing the same thing in tolerant cooperation, then it will be positive in both cases.

However, if the Civic Forum were vague and diffuse, it would pose a threat to the political stability of society. Feuds and fights between new parties would be equally dangerous. That is to say: I am in favor of a creative and constructive cooperation between people of differing opinions and also in favor of a certain firmness and concept in political work. In my opinion it is of secondary importance whether an efficient and democratic development will be guaranteed by a single, large, and pluralistic Civic Forum, or by independent streams constituted from it, as the case may be.

[Kramer] You spoke, not only once, about following up on the Masaryk traditions of the first republic. Our society today differs in many respects from the society of 60 years ago. How should this dissimilarity be reflected in our political life?

[Havel] Personally, I feel that we should follow up on Masaryk in his accentuation of the spiritual and moral dimension of politics. Today's situation is really different in many respects and it is impossible to continue where we stopped some decades ago. We live in the world of computers, in the age of global civilization. I, for example, travel abroad every all the time, while President Masaryk paid a state visit, maybe, once in two years. The world is far more interconnected today. I am talking about one difference, of course, yet there are innumerable differences like this. Production technology and social structure, etc., have changed in principle. It is logical that we have to build our state on the foundations on which we stand today; to move spiritually 70 years back would certainly be foolish.

[Kramer] Mr. President, you are flying to New York to participate in the World Summit for Children. There were voices heard that it would only be a large and expensive show which will not help suffering children much. I would like to hear your reaction to this allegation. One more supplementary question: What do you think should be done for a happier life for children in Czechoslovakia?

[Havel] As far as the show is concerned, I have found out an interesting thing during my presidency. In fact, not only such a monstrous meeting of 80 heads of state, but, actually, also every state visit is a kind of show somewhat. Highest representatives meet for a relatively short time and the talks themselves represent only a smaller portion of it—most of the time is taken up by ceremonial procedures and other things. Moreover, the talks are usually very general, I would say that they have the character of an exchange of opinions in the field of political philosophy. Specific agreements are usually not discussed, they are negotiated by ministers and experts. Despite this—and this is an interesting finding— each such meeting is very important. Namely, it creates a kind of basic political environment and draws the public's attention to certain phenomena and problems. This summit about children, in which I am going to participate, is an event without precedent in world history. It is really an important event. All those statesmen gathered will, by their presence, give support to the convention on the rights of the child adopted by the UN and signed, in a very short time, by more than 100 states—I will sign it during my stay in New York. It is a very significant, profoundly elaborated, and good convention, yet it could easily happen that people would not know too much about it and that governments would not take it too seriously. That is, this show, or as you call it...

[Kramer] I quoted one Belgian minister.

[Havel] ...that is, this show, as it is called by one Belgian minister, has one very useful role: it will draw attention of the whole world to this convention. People will notice it, they will study it, and governments will monitor its fulfillment. Apparently that is how politics work: The most important matters are often a little showy—maybe that is the way it has to be.

As far as the children in Czechoslovakia and their needs are concerned.... I am of the opinion that in this sphere, as in any other sphere, many tasks and a lot of work is in store for us. I am bringing with me a thick expert report on the situation of our children—I have not studied it in full yet. Yet, even without it I know that we have big problems as far as deprived children and children abandoned by their parents are concerned—children's homes are in a desperate condition. We have big problems with their education, problems connected with the employment of mothers, and we also have specific problems of a moral nature which I am going to mention briefly in my speech at the summit. All in all, it seems to me that this is a sphere that has been neglected very much in our country.

[Kramer] You will meet President Bush again during your stay in New York. What do you expect from this meeting?

[Havel] I would like to emphasize that we have established good relations with President Bush. During my past visit to the White House and later at a joint dinner; we discussed a number of subjects, and then, as you may remember, the President invited me to the White House again the next day, which is quite unusual. Since then we have been exchanging letters. President Bush informed me about various important events and negotiations, for example, about the results of his meeting with President Gorbachev.... Of course, this was not customary before. This time, our meeting will be held on his initiative, I did not ask for it, because I can imagine how many problems Mr. Bush now has. I am happy that we will meet, though it will be only a very short meeting. I expect the meeting to confirm our mutually good relations, the interest of the President in the events in Czechoslovakia, his trust in the position of our country in Central and Eastern Europe, and the hope that we will represent a certain stabilizing element in this region. Of course, we will talk about some topical matters, about the Persian Gulf crisis, and probably also about the existing economic situation in Czechoslovakia, and maybe, we will also touch on more general matters, such as future European security and similar subjects.

[Kramer] Allow me a personal question. Toward the end of last year your life changed radically. For about nine months you have been the head of our state. I would like to ask Vaclav Havel, as a human being: Are you happy?

[Havel] Basically, after the radical change—as you call it— I remain the same as I was throughout my previous life. If I have success in something, I am happy and joyful. If I do not, I have a feeling that something is escaping me, and I am sad, nervous, and depressed. Yet I try not to show it to much.

[Kramer] Question for playwright Havel: Do you agree with the statement that all the world is a stage?

[Havel] Yes, but I have to add something to it. When using the word theater in a figurative sense, and not as a name for an artistic genre, we always think about an element of pretense, disguise, and acting. This could be a bit misleading. I would rather say that the world is a big drama.

[Kramer] My last question is for Vaclav Havel, the philosopher: Are you afraid of death?

[Havel] To tell the truth, I am not. It may sound strange, yet I really feel so. I am afraid that I may live up to all the tasks that will be given to me by destiny or which I set myself.

Havel Speaks at Charles University Commencement

AU0710175890 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Oct 90 pp 1,2

["ep"-signed report: "Rebellion of the Intellect Against Stupidity; The Former Advanced School of Politics Has Become Academic Soil"]

[Excerpts] Prague— The Vokovice compound—derisively referred to as the communist Sorbonne—which was built in the fifties with the help of political prisoners, has become academic soil. It is the alma mater for 1,000 daytime and 500 external students of the Charles University Faculty of Physical Education and Sports. Yesterday's festive commencement of studies at the faculty was attended by President Vaclav Havel. [passage omitted]

Addressing the students, President Vaclav Havel described the events that were touched off by students last November as a rebellion of the intellect against stupidity. It was precisely in these halls that people had for decades been deprived of independent thinking, taught a system of dogmas, and provided with instruments for the pseudo-scientific explanation of anything at any time. In carrying on this rebellion of the intellect against stupidity, we must accentuate one of the main qualities of the spirit, a quality in which we are deficient—kindness. It should be precisely the students of this faculty who, knowing the meaning of fair play, should carry into our chaotic world the spirit of kindness, the same kindness which accompanied the first days of the rebellion against totalitarianism, Vaclav Havel said. [passage omitted]

Research Shows Declining Confidence in Institutions

LD0810145790 Prague CTK in English 1404 GMT 8 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 8 (CTK)—Confidence of the Czechoslovak public in the chief political institutions and movements and state bodies has decreased, according to an analysis carried out here by the Association for Independent Social Analysis (AISA).

At a press conference held here today AISA representatives said that 29 per cent of respondents in the Czech Republic, 32 per cent in Moravia and 43 per cent in Slovakia said that only people holding power changed after the November events in the country. According to the survey of 2,244 people, the so-called big policy is not interconnected with the solution of local problems in the Czech Republic. AISA research also documented that the Civic Forum has not managed to involve people in local political life. On the contrary, activities of other political groupings, above all the Movement for Autonomous Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia and the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, are growing.

According to the poll of 30 per cent of respondents in the Czech Republic and 17 per cent in Moravia would vote for the Civic Forum in the autumn elections, one per cent in the Czech Republic and 25 in Moravia for the Movement for Autonomous Democracy, six per cent in the Czech Republic and the same number in Moravia for the Communist Party. Sixteen per cent of respondents in Slovakia support the Slovak National Party, 14 per cent the Christian Democratic Movement, 13 per cent of the Public Against Violence and nine per cent the Slovak Communist Party.

A total of 28 per cent of people in the Czech Republic and in Moravia and 30 per cent in Slovakia described the sphere of shops, services, flats and transport as the biggest local problems.

Defense Minister Vacek Marks Army Day 6 Oct

LD0610090890 Prague CTK in English 1923 GMT 5 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 5 (CTK)—Despite positive tendencies in international relations the possibility of a war conflict cannot be underestimated. Forces which would like to settle questions at issue between states by force, irrespective of far-reaching consequences it could have for mankind, must be taken into consideration.

In an order issued today to mark the Czechoslovak Army Day on October 6, Czechoslovak Defence Minister Army General Miroslav Vacek further said that regional conflicts, fanaticism and selfish goals of some states as well as individuals can be a great menace to world's peace.

Czechoslovakia's active foreign policy fully understands the necessity to seek disarmament and to settle all problems of states and nations by peaceful means, to develop all-round cooperation and to strive for excluding of war as an instrument of politics. This concerns Europe in particular. Czechoslovakia does not have any territorial demands and does not consider any country an enemy, Army General Miroslav Vacek said and added that promotion of international cooperation and efforts at the creation of a collective security system, especially in Europe, are of major importance for Czechoslovakia's development in the future.

Defense Minister Describes Army's Future, Goals

LD0710141590

[Editorial Report] Prague Domestic Service in Czech at 0905 GMT on 7 October carries a 55-minute question-and-answer session with CSFR Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek. Vacek, in the studio, responds to questions presented by an unidentified announcer, selected from queries telephoned in earlier by listeners.

The program opens with music and announcer-read reports. At 0913 GMT, the announcer begins to present the callers' questions to Vacek.

After briefly outlining his career, Vacek is asked to give a brief description of the goals for the development of the Army through 2005. Vacek replies that he does not wish to go into too much detail, but says the aim is to create an Army able to deal with current and expected developments. Vacek says that with the aid of "other sources" they created a model of a future Europe around the year 2000 which shows "that despite all optimism which the people of our country and the world justifiably feel, it is probable, unfortunately, that individual states will not be able to manage without their own individual armies, and armed forces." Future plans for the Czechoslovak Army are based on this model.

"We divided this period into three stages," Vacek says. "The first of which, the immediate future, is from the present until about 1993. It is mainly concerned with everything which emerges from the conclusions of the Vienna talks. That is a marked reduction, to remind you, of 60,000 soldiers. In my view even more important is the reduction of the main groups of military technology by 40 to 60 percent. I think this speaks for itself. There are some things which follow from the new doctrine, and from the June session of the Political Consultative Committee, where our delegation, led by President Havel, offered proposals adopted in the declaration. These state that all the Warsaw Treaty armies are exclusively subordinate to their own national commands, that in the future, they will undertake only defensive operations, and only for the defense of their own territory. Following from this are further things which will affect the Czechoslovak Army, such as, above all, that in the Army, which is at the moment largely located in West, Central and Southern Bohemia will be evenly located throughout the territory of the entire CSFR."

The goal model, Vacek says, takes into account the need for a reduction in expenditures, defense capability, and the needs of the citizens, which entail a reduction in national service from 18 to 12 months by 1993-94 at the latest, and an attempt to allow more soldiers to serve near their home area.

Vacek next answers a question about his views on the resignations of young officers and whether he feels any personal responsibility for what the question terms as the chaotic situation in the Army. He says he is not aware of any chaos, but if this is how it appears then the ministry would welcome information and advise. The announcer says a listener recommends that Vacek should listen to the views of the Military Revival Association and the Free Legion, in particular to rank and file members. Vacek replies that he does listen to suggestions from the Military Revival Association. He says he would keep the association apart from the Free Legion, because the association includes people who left the Army for political reasons. While they may not always agree, cooperation between them does exist. "I have a somewhat different attitude about the Free Legion," Vacek says. "Voices may again be heard that I am trying to make use of the media to isolate the views proclaimed by the Free Legion. I have spoken about this in the Defense and Security Committee of the Federal Assembly. At the moment, as a result of the activities of some representatives of the Free Legion, I do not consider it appropriate for them to be a partner for me."

Vaclev continues, responding to questionns about the problem of bullying in the Army and the measures being taken to combat it, on Czechs serving in Slovakia and vice versa, and the Army's policy to allow soldiers to serve close to home for social reasons.

Vacek is then asked whether parachutists based in Prostejov were trained prior to being sent to the Persian Gulf. He says Czechoslovak soldiers will go to the Gulf purely on a voluntary basis. Vacek says: "This unit has about 80 people. In the last two weeks professional training has been taking place in five places, where 130 professional soldiers and, for the moment, national servicemen, have been replaced because, influenced by their parents or close relatives, they changed their minds."

Vacek next reassures a number of callers who express concern about the Czechoslovak Army's combat readiness following the departure of almost 14,000 national servicemen into civilian service. Vacek says reservists can be called up in hours, at most in two to three days.

Vacek next responds to a question about cooperation between the civilian sector and military research establishments. Vacek confirms that the use of military research bases for commercial purposes is being considered as a result of the reduction in the research budget.

The final group of questions concerns the need for checks on specific individuals whose abilities have been questioned, on the length of time it takes letters to reach Vacek, and on the usefulness of continuing Army traditions such as Army Day. Vacek concludes by offering a message of good wishes and thanks to professional soldiers and those choosing to remain in national service instead of converting to civilian service.

The announcer closes by saying a transcript of the program will be published in the daily (REPORT).

Economy Minister Discusses Oil Supply Problem

LD0610225290 Prague CTK in English 1727 GMT 6 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy told CTK today that if Czechoslovakia wanted to maintain the flow of oil at the level to which it was used, it would have run into heavy debt.

The minster discussed the oil problem behind closed doors with the leadership of the chemical plant at Litvinov, North Bohemia, today.

Mr. Dlouhy said that the regulatory measures imposed in the night from Friday to today, under which a motorist can buy 25 litres in October at the previous price, i.e. 12 respectively 13.50 crowns according to the quality, and all additional purchases will be at 16, respectively 18

crowns, will not be lifted, but the government will seek a better mechanism of regulation.

Asked whether the government did not give in to an intentional rumour, the minister answered in the negative. The problem is not that there is no oil, but that it is dear. Regulation was discussed in the government already on Monday October 1 (decision on the regulatory measures was taken only on Thursday October 4). The solution was to be simple and quick, but information leaked among the population giving rise to panic.

In reply to a question whether it would be wiser to introduce higher prices for all purchases, Vladimir Dlouhy said he was of this view, but a majority of his colleagues in both the federal and republic governments did not share it.

Discussed at Litvinov was also limitation of petrochemical production since the impact of declining oil supplies from the USSR and rising prices in world markets must hit not only the population, but especially the production sphere. Concrete measures are to be discussed next week, Vladimir Dlouhy said.

Czech Commission for Local Elections Established

AU0910101390 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 29 Sep 90 pp 1, 3

[CTK report: "The Electoral Commission Held a Meeting"]

[Text] Prague—The first session of the Czech Electoral Commission, established to supervise the November elections to the local representative bodies in the Czech Republic, was held in Valdstein Palace in Prague yesterday, in the presence of P. Pithart, Czech Republic premier.

As stated by its recorder, M. Slapak, in the introduction, the commission has 24 members representing 12 parties running in the elections—the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum, Czechoslovak Social Democracy, the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party, Movement for Self-Governing Democracy—Society for Moravia and Silesia, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Christian Democratic Party, the Civic Forum, the Political Movement of Members of Agricultural Cooperatives, the Green Party, and the Free Bloc. The representatives of the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum did not appear at the first meeting and did not apologize either.

The first hitch appeared during the draw for the chairman of the Czech Electoral Commission. S. Dolezalova (Movement for Self-Governing Democracy—Society For Moravia and Silesia) was drawn first, yet she refused this function. J. Barton, member of the same party, was drawn next and A. Klimes (Czechoslovak Socialist Party) was selected by the draw as the deputy chairman of the commission.

In the next part of the meeting M. Slapak drew attention to the fact that the parties can submit the lists of candidates for elections to local representative bodies no later than 2400 [2300 GMT] on 30 September. According to data obtained on Friday [28 September] 55 political parties and movements are registered in the Czech Republic with the Ministry of the Interior.

Civic Forum Discusses Security, Civic Commissions

LD0710040290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2200 GMT 6 Oct 90

[Text] A meeting of Civic Forum representatives on questions of security and work of the civic commissions was held in Prague today. At the close of a resolution, the participants in the meeting called on deputies to assert their demands during debates in legislative bodies or raise them in parliamentary questions. They went on to voice the demand that the Federal minister of the interior issue immediately a statute of civic commissions and that members of these commissions become members of the region council. They went on to call for the activities of the auxilliary guards of the Public Security Service to cease, the dismissal of all members of the National Security Corps who had been engaged in the fight against the so-called internal enemy, criminal proceedings to be started against persons who abused the powers of a public official, and the speedy adoption of the law on police and on the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy. They also called for the screening of those members of civic commissions who will themselves ask for it and the setting up of a parliamentary investigation commission to investigate the action Klin [Wedge] and Norbert.

Data on Current Fuel Reserves in Czech Lands

AU0910103890 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Oct 90 pp 1,8

["ru, ms, jop, do"-signed roundup: "Gasoline Sales With Restrictions"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] **Was the Panic Necessary?**

The panic at gas stations, which spread across the whole CSFR in the course yesterday, has made it necessary to take regulatory steps. But what was the starting situation? As we learned at the Czech Republic Ministry of Industry yesterday, refineries in the Czech Republic continue to operate in the regime on which they embarked during the summer months. The largest producers—the Litvinov Chemical Works and the Kaucuk Kralupy plant—had crude oil reserves for two to three days worth of output yesterday.

The refineries process the crude oil as follows—light gasoline fractions account for 15 to 17 percent, heating oil for 40 to 45 percent, and diesel and aviation fuel for the rest. Part of the gasoline fractions is used to produce motor vehicle gasoline and the rest is processed in the

petrochemical industry. The consumption of motor vehicle gasoline in the Czech Republic exceeds production, with the difference (between 15,000 and 25,000 tonnes a month) being purchased abroad. Since the beginning of this year we have imported in this way 187,000 tonnes of this fuel. An increase in deliveries of motor vehicle gasoline is only a question of releasing funds for greater purchases.

Yesterday's stocks of the Benzina state enterprise [the monopoly fuel distributor in the Czech Republic] amounted to 30,000 tonnes of "special" grade gasoline and 20,000 tonnes of "super" grade gasoline. Under normal circumstances, these quantities suffice to meet six days worth of consumption of "special" and 17 days worth of consumption of "super" gasoline. As far as diesel fuel is concerned, Benzina has asked for the allocation of 40,000 tonnes from the federal contingency reserves, which would increase reserves to about 10 days worth of consumption. [passage omitted]

The Benzina state enterprise instructed individual gas stations to limit sales to gas cans yesterday. According to M. Zmeskal, Benzina deputy director, this measure was not motivated by a shortage of fuel but it was a preventive measure, designed to expedite the operation of gas stations.

Calfa on Solving Nationality Issues in Slovakia

LD0610125290 Prague CTK in English 0959 GMT 6 Oct 90

[Text] Prague Oct 6 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa has told the Hungarian paper published in Czechoslovakia, UJ SZO that nationality questions must be solved in harmony with internationally valid conventions.

Speaking about problems concerning the Hungarian ethnic minority in Slovakia, he said that for Slovakia it would be better to solve the nationality problems concerning it on the interstate Czechoslovak-Hungarian level.

The Hungarians living in Slovakia are members of the Hungarian nation and in no case Magyarized Slovaks, he stressed.

Referring to the prepared law on the official language in Slovakia, the premier said that it will probably be passed. (There are now two drafts—one of the government coalition proposing bilingualism in nationally mixed regions, i.e. mainly in southern parts of Slovakia along the Hungarian border, and another one submitted by the Slovak cultural institution Matica Slovenska which insists on Slovak being the sole official language throughout Slovakia).

"To be sincere, I think the best situation would be if no such laws had to be passed. Anyhow, it will be one of few of its kind in the world," Marian Calfa pointed out.

New Ministry of Interior Scandal in Slovakia

AU0810153090 Prague CTK in English 0904 GMT 5 Oct 90

[Text] Bratislava Oct 5 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Interior Minister Andrej Samel has been described as a collaborator with the former StB [State Security] Secret Service under the code name Andrej by another former StB agent, Captain Jan Demikat, at a press conference here, the Slovak youth daily SMENA reported today.

Demikat, who worked for the StB until 1983 and now is a technician at the city police Crime Department in Kosice, East Slovakia, published several articles in the independent journalists' weekly SLOBODNY PIATOK, describing practices of former communist party functionaries, and about Samel, which were one of the reasons why Demikat was sacked from his job.

Meanwhile, Deputy Interior Minister Samel told CTK on Thursday that he had been persecuted by the communist party, its regime and the State Security for his political attitudes in 1968-69 and in particular for his active part at the 14th Special Communist Party Congress at Prague-Vysocany, held shortly after the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. At the Vysocany congress, later annulled, Samel was a member of the Party Presidium.

Samel said that between 1970 and November 1989, when the communist regime collapsed in Czechoslovakia, he did not take part in any political or civic movement, and was an ordinary worker. He said his case must be examined and the Federal Interior Ministry must take an official stand on it, Samel added.

Slovak Official Discusses Mohorita's Comments

LD0910041290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 8 Oct 90

[Interview with Peter Weiss, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, by editor Alicia Bielikova; place and date not given—recorded; first four and last three paragraphs are radio comment]

[Text] CTK issued a statement yesterday that contains the following quotation: National understanding is over, and a hard and uncompromising struggle begins.

Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Chairman Vasil Mohorita said this in his speech at the meeting of the Central Committee [CC] of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia.

We have tried to phone Vasil Mohorita for a response to the many reactions our editorial office has received on his comments, but we were first told at his office this morning that he was busy, and then we were told he had already left and would be available on 10 October at the earliest.

Editor Alica Bielikova then asked Peter Weiss, chairman of the Executive Committee of the CC of the Communist Party of Slovakia [CPSL], for an interview:

[Bielikova] We could see from the telephone calls and messages we received in our editorial office that many people were shocked by this statement.

[Weiss] I must admit, I also did not consider his introductory words, in particular, very well chosen. Unfortunately, I still do not have a record of his whole speech, and I do not know in what context he made these statements. I spoke with him this morning, and he said his speech was to be critical of his own ranks. With regard to his other statements—about getting organized in enterprises—it was again a badly chosen combination of words, already corrected in the following sentence: This concerns the fact that about 20 percent of CPCZ members are organized in protest clubs attached to their workplaces, that is, not directly at their workplaces.

[Bielikova] As for trade unions, the aims is to make trade unions independent and impartial.

[Weiss] Trade Unions Associations Chairman Roman Kovac said it very clearly in his recent interview in RUDE PRAVO, but he said at the same time that trade union officials will not be elected according to their memberships in any party but by their ability to do something for the trade unions. Therefore, it is natural that every political party, not only ours, will try to cooperate with the trade unions.

[Bielikova] Yes, cooperate but not to have a direct influence on them or to interfere with their activity.

[Weiss] Definitely not. It can only have such an influence as equals the authority of its members who work in trade unions. The CPSL will strive to achieve in the society which needs radical social reform a certain minimal consensus with regard to social sacrifices that are required. Here, we fully support the recent statement of the trade unions, that there is a certain limit beyond which the reform cannot go.

To speak for myself, I cannot agree with the view that, first we need to have a strong economy, and then we will concentrate on effective social policy. Social policy must be particularly strong in such a complicated situation as we have now, when radical social reform is being launched.

[Bielikova] What is your opinion on the results of your congress?

[Weiss] That the reform stream of the party, which includes key radical transformations of this party, will win and help support a parliamentary democracy so that it can become a party that will again be able to win citizens' natural trust.

[Bielikova] And if the reform stream does not win?

[Weiss] Then I would join the view of Robert (Rozko), which he expressed in the last issue of NOVE SLOVO, where he said: It would really be ironic and a mess if those who win at the congress were those who lost historically. I assume that the last reform stream will win in the CPCZ because it was defeated so many times before that we cannot afford to have it lose again.

Vasil Mohorita's statement evoked a wave of protests, for example, from the Council of Confederation of the Trade Union Associations of the Slovak Republic, from the Confederation of Political Prisoners, from the chairman of the Central Council of the Club of the Involved Nonparty members, and so on. As a result, CTK issued at 1745 [1845 GMT], on the request of the CPCZ's Josef Hora, a statement on some passages of Vasil Mohorita's speech. It says that the CTK report took the statement out of context and gave the words different meaning. It quotes, as an example, the passage about the end of national understanding. Vasil Mohorita originally said: We have clearly comprehended the scenario of economic reform. I do not say that we had not an inkling beforehand what it was to be about. But, it was clearly comprehended that national understanding is ending and that a hard and an uncompromising struggle is beginning.

So much for Vasil Mohorita's words.

The statement goes on to say that it would be simpler to follow the path chosen by other political parties or movements which did not allow an unlimited attendance by journalists at their sessions. The CPCZ does not want to follow this path, although it would be the easiest way to avoid disinformation, says the statement, issued today by CTK at the request of the CPCZ spokesman.

Slovak Minister Interviewed on Oil Shortage

AU0910104890 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 4 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jan Holcik, Slovak Republic minister of industry, by Oliver Brunovsky; place and date not given: "Even the Motorists Can Raise the Price...."—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Practically the whole of Slovakia found out yesterday what the premier's word can mean. The day before yesterday, after the government meeting, the apparently tired Vladimir Meciar awkwardly formulated his answer to a journalist who, in a corridor, asked him about gasoline supplies. The coincidence that at the same time CTK issued a report on ample stocks in the Czech Benzina [gasoline distribution company] did not help at all. Long lines began to form at gas stations since the morning. Correspondents from all over the country phoned us about it and we saw it ourselves in Bratislava. We tried to find Mr. Meciar and give him an opportunity to speak once again. He was in Prague. We rushed to see another competent person—Jan Holcik, Slovak Republic minister of industry. He was willing to grant us an interview, from which we have selected the following.

[Brunovsky] The prime minister has said that crude oil reserves were sufficient for about two days. What does this mean, in fact?

[Holcik] We monitor crude oil deliveries from the USSR each day. For the entire month they dropped 3,500 tonnes below the originally established plan of 445,000 tonnes.

[Brunovsky] This is not so catastrophic.

[Holcik] We have been keeping crude oil reserves at a minimum level for the entire month, yet this level is sufficient to secure continuous production. Let me give you an example: Daily sales of motor vehicle gasoline in Slovakia are about 1,200 tonnes while production amounts to 2,000 tonnes. We can continuously supply "special" and "super" grade gasoline.

[Brunovsky] How would you describe our crude oil reserves? As normal? As normally low?

[Holcik] As sufficient to satisfy the domestic market. As minimum reserves, yet sufficient. Unfortunately, the situation is caused by permanently lower crude oil deliveries from the USSR. We at the Slovak Republic Ministry of Industry are making extraordinary efforts to improve the situation. We have elaborated a number of projects and expect that already in October a certain portion from the so-called clearing account with Iran, amounting to 93,000 tonnes, will be delivered. Today we expect the signing of an agreement by the Chemapol general director and representatives of the Tyumen Oblast in the USSR on the delivery of 500,000 tonnes of crude oil within the framework of the so-called barter trade, which would be sufficient to solve the situation in the CSFR in the fourth quarter of this year. One must say that crude oil deliveries are not used only in the production of fuel but also in the petrochemical industry.

[Brunovsky] Consequently, even a reduction in crude oil deliveries does not necessarily mean that gasoline production has to decline.

[Holcik] We are holding intensive negotiations with the Soviet partners on three levels. Talks have been held on the level of deputy premiers and, on this basis, we are buying a part of the crude oil for convertible currency. Talks have also been held at the level of republics and the above mentioned trade is a result of talks on yet a lower level. Next week we expect a delegation from Tyumen Oblast, with which we will agree upon specific deliveries of machinery, textiles, and other products in exchange for crude oil.

[Brunovsky] Our existence admittedly depends on deliveries from the USSR. But what about the Adria pipeline? When will it help?

[Holcik] This route has already been prepared and it would be possible to transport through it 200,000 tonnes of crude oil still this year. Provided, of course, that the Czechoslovak State Bank releases the necessary funds.

[Brunovsky] What about deliveries from Venezuela, about which we heard after President Havel's visit there?

[Holcik] We should speak more cautiously about this. Transportation from South and Central America makes the deliveries more expensive. At current crude oil prices this represents a significant barrier. Apart from this, Venezuela offers heavy crude oil, which is difficult to process in our two refineries. The entire problem is permanent and serious, however, and we have to deal with it in a wider perspective because if we are to pay for the current minimal yearly CSFR consumption—which is 15 million tonnes—in convertible currency, we will spend on it almost all the proceeds of current Czechoslovak exports.

[Brunovsky] The only solution is a conservation program. This is a subject for a separate interview, if not several interviews. Finally, with your permission, one more question for which all motorists are waiting. Do you think that the price of gasoline might rise again or that it might be necessary to ration its supply?

[Holcik] Should there be another marked deterioration in crude oil supplies, it might be necessary to cope with it either by the implementation of a rationing system or by significantly higher prices. However, all this buying panic is unnecessary and dangerous—as you learned from specific data on current deliveries and also from information about our efforts. I appeal to the public to stop buy-outs because the difficulties thus artificially triggered could deplete our stocks further.

Economic Official on Trade Relations With USSR

AU1010152190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Oct 90 p 1

[Interview with Laszlo Timar, head of a main department at the Ministry of International Economic Relations, by Maria Lakatos; place and date not given: "Soviet Exports Continue—Hungarian Claims Are Expected To Be $1.1 Billion"; first two paragraphs are NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] The news reported on the radio and later on television is the economic sensation of the weekend: The Soviet Government allegedly intends to halt imports from the CSFR, Hungary, and the former GDR in order to stop the increase of Soviet debts currently still calculated in rubles [R], but which will be calculated in U.S. dollars beginning on 1 January 1991.

We asked Laszlo Timar to give us some details.

[Lakatos] The reports so far have not made it absolutely clear what kind of Soviet regulations we are talking about.

[Timar] As I heard from our Soviet partners on 6 October, there are no new regulations whatsoever. Some decision is being worked out which would hinder the implementation of nonagricultural contracts with Hungary, the CSFR, and enterprises in the former GDR—namely, the supply of goods beyond the quota agreed upon. These restrictions, however, will be applied to future contracts, and not to the contracts which have already been signed. This is the news; however, I cannot tell whether such regulations will be introduced at all, or whether these regulations will include such stipulations.

[Lakatos] Let us suppose that this news proves to be true. To what extent will this affect the Hungarian exports which are basically carried out according to quotas stipulated in intergovernmental contracts?

[Timar] The Hungarian exports will amount to about R3.8 billion this year, and 98 percent of these exports are within the aforementioned quotas. The aforementioned regulations, however, would only affect two percent of the Hungarian exports. Hungarian imports will amount to about R3.4 billion; in other words, we will get less fuel, cellulose, paper, and fewer cars.

[Lakatos] What about the difference?

[Timar] According to the agreement signed by former Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy, the R800 million trade surplus accumulated in 1989 and the approximately R400 million trade surplus expected this year will be converted into U.S. dollars on the basis of the agreement saying that R1 equals $0.92 beginning on 1 January 1991. This is not the problem at all! The current talks, however, showed that the Soviets would like to pay this sum over several years, while we would like to use the greater part of this sum in 1991 and a smaller part in 1992. This question, as well as the question of whether the Soviet Union is ready to partially compensate Hungary for our damages deriving from our terms-of-trade losses, was left open at the talks held this September. We will discuss these matters during the next round of negotiations. We will probably not be able to come to an agreement before the end of October because the list of goods is being worked out in the Soviet Union these days. It is also obvious that a single agreement with the Ryzhkov government will not be enough. We will also have to come to an agreement with the Yeltsin cabinet, the Ukrainians, and with the other republics.

New Foreign Ministry Structure Discussed

AU1010164590 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 2 Oct 90 p 3

[Interview with State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi by Katalin Decsi; place and date not given: "The Foreign Ministry Is Being Restructured"; first paragraph is NEPSZAVA introduction]

[Text] The structure of the Foreign Ministry has been changed over the last few months. We asked Ferenc Somogyi about the reasons for this change.

[Somogyi] With the recent reorganization of the Foreign Ministry, our main aim was to create an adequate structural framework which would reflect our foreign policy goals. At the same time, some important changes had to be made in order to let the whole apparatus function.

[Decsi] You mentioned new foreign policy goals. What do you mean?

[Somogyi] Our main objective is to maintain our fundamental national interests, thereby enlarging our relations and integrating our country as much as possible into the system of international cooperation that is based on universal human values and reciprocal advantages. From this point of view, it is particularly important for us to reestablish, develop, and increase our links with the Europe mentioned in Helsinki, which stretches from North America to the Soviet Union, and especially with the countries of Western Europe, with which we have traditional links which were artificially severed in the past. Parallel to that, of course, we devote particular interest to our neighbors, and to our relations with non-European countries, which are also important to us.

[Decsi] How is all this reflected in the Foreign Ministry's structure?

[Somogyi] I would first mention that, this time, we consistently applied the principle of pure geographic division when we elaborated the new system for regional departments and when we determined the sphere of authority of individual organizational units. In itself, this already reflects the termination of former ideological-political views which are no longer tenable, and it shows that the Pact mentality has been abandoned.

Europe has been given a more prominent role; this is indicated by the fact that three out of the four deputy state secretaries of the ministry deal directly with the affairs of this vast region in some way. Two of the deputy secretaries primarily supervise our bilateral relations with European countries, and the third deputy secretary supervises multilateral issues. He follows pan-European and regional cooperation, integration developments, and European disarmament issues.

In relation to this, I would also like to add that, in the Foreign Ministry's new structure, some special departments deal with issues which are important from the point pf view of Hungarian foreign policy, such as European cooperation, security policy and disarmament, as well as the issue of Hungarians who live outside our borders.

[Decsi] I think the real novelty is the new special department that deals with Hungarians living outside our country.

[Somogyi] That category first includes Hungarian national minorities in our neighboring countries. Second, it considers Hungarians who are scattered around the globe. Above all, the creation of this new organizational unit signals that the government gives particular importance to the issue of Hungarians abroad. At the same time, it shows that, despite the substantial differences in their situation and problems, we treat Hungarians outside our country as one group, and we handle them according to the same basic principles.

[Decsi] Did the restructuring change the number of departments in the Foreign Ministry?

[Somogyi] Yes, there are now fewer departments. Indeed, the creation of the aforementioned new departments was accompanied by the closure of some former organizational units, or by regroupings which aimed to outline a clearer profile. The regional department encompasses the European and North American countries, and other departments deal with affairs related to Asia and Australia, Africa and the Middle East, and Latin America. The other political departments and the so-called functional departments have essentially remained the same; however, the creation of a parliamentary secretariat under the direct supervision of the political state secretary is an innovation.

[Decsi] Did the restructuring affect the work of Hungary's embassies?

[Somogyi] Such major restructurings did not take place in the individual embassies, although a certain change in emphasis can be witnessed in the work of our embassies. This could lead to internal changes in the assignment of tasks, and in the regrouping of forces, particularly in the case of larger embassies. At the same time, the demand for increased productivity in our work—particularly the request that we should follow world events—as well as our limited financial means have brought the reexamination of our entire network of embassies onto the agenda. Within the framework of this reexamination, we would like to terminate unnecessary duplications and overlappings by considering our embassies, trade branches, and cultural institutions abroad as integral parts of a unified Hungarian diplomatic system. Consequently, we can expect to open new embassies in certain places, and close or reduce the number of our diplomatic missions elsewhere. As far as the latter is concerned, we will have to proceed very carefully. We have to be aware that the complete discontinuation of our presence automatically leads to a regression in our relations with that particular area; this may cause damage which we would find difficult to repair in the future. On the other hand, the money we save by closing a few embassies usually only amounts to a fraction of the costs involved in establishing new embassies in the countries we consider to be important under present circumstances. Together with the other ministries involved, we intend to submit our proposals on this issue to the government this autumn.

[Decsi] Restructurings are usually accompanied by staff reductions. Was that the case with the Foreign Ministry?

[Somogyi] So far, in our case, there have been no staff reductions; the restructuring has rather implied a regrouping. At the same time, regardless of the restructuring, we cannot escape the general reduction in numbers that has been decided for the entire state governing body, despite the fact that our increased and often new tasks make this reduction problematic.

[Decsi] Were there any major reshuffles involved in the restructuring?

[Somogyi] There is always great movement between the central office and the diplomatic service; furthermore, fluctuations are generally above average in the Foreign Ministry staff. This year, there were also significant staff changes among our ambassadors and in the diplomatic missions in general, which were a direct consequence of the change of regime. Incidentally, such new political appointments are also common practice in other countries.

[Decsi] Do these large-scale movements and major staff changes in some places not interfere with the work of the Foreign Ministry, and particularly of the embassies?

[Somogyi] I hope that they do not interfere, although it is difficult to give a clear answer at the moment. Given that changes vary greatly according to individual embassies and offices, it is only when we have concrete experience that we can try to establish whether we have succeeded in creating an appropriate balance between the vocational point of view and the new political viewpoints which have sprung from present circumstances.

Interior Minister Queried on Illegal Immigrants

AU1010191190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 9 Oct 90 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Interior Minister Balazs Horvath by Attila Fekete on 8 October; place not given: "Illegal

Foreigners Are Being Sent Back"; first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] "What is happening here, Mr. Minister?" We asked Dr. Balazs Horvath this question yesterday morning. Indeed, as expected, at 6 a.m. on 8 October, the National Police Headquarters, the Border Guards, and the National Security Office began a concerted series of actions to sort out the situation of the more than 10,000 illegal economic refugees in Hungary. In his exclusive interview with NEPSZABADSAG, Balazs Horvath also talked about other topical issues.

[Fekete] A police raid began at 6 a.m. today. As far as we know, this raid will include the collection of all illegal economic refugees in Hungary. According to our sources, there will also be mass expulsions. What is actually happening here, Mr. Minister?

[Horvath] The mass immigration of economic refugees, who mostly come into the country unsupervised, has made general conditions in Hungary more and more impossible. We are talking about tens of thousands of people; many of them crossed the open border illegally, and they would like, or rather, they would have liked, to travel to the West. The problem is that no Western European country wants to accept them. The people who do succeed in leaving the country—for example, for Austria—are regularly sent back to us by the relevant border guards. As for the people who are "stranded" here, on the whole, they do not have enough money for their own subsistence. Unfortunately, these people end up in the international crime network, sooner or later. That is precisely why the Interior Ministry had to try to put an end to this importation of international crime. The preparations for this series of actions have been going on for months. I have discussed this issue with the Austrian interior minister and with the representative in Hungary of the UN chief commissioner for refugees. We came to the final conclusion that, in keeping with the relevant UN specifications and with certain humanitarian viewpoints, we would send back Hungary's illegal residents to their country of origin.

[Fekete] In concrete terms, who do these actions affect?

[Horvath] They affect all the people who arrived in Hungary without valid travel documents, and all the people whose residence permits have expired. These people will immediately be given decrees to leave, and they will be required to depart as soon as possible.

[Fekete] How will they be required to leave?

[Horvath] People from our neighboring countries will be put on buses, and the rest will be placed on Hungarian army airplanes. I would, however, very much like to emphasize that these actions do not apply to political refugees!

[Fekete] What will happen to those people who arrive after this spectacular police raid? This raid cannot last for more than a few days. Economic refugees could continue to arrive, given that "our borders are open."

[Horvath] I would not call this measure that we have been forced to take a spectacular series of actions, or a spectacular raid. We have been forced to do this because, regardless of the change of regime, it is the government's duty to maintain order in the country, even if that is extremely unpleasant for a lot of people—namely, the people who are being expelled. At the same time, we have also had to make sure that this refugee invasion of the past months does not repeat itself. We have raised the requirements for issuing visas for Hungary, and we have tightened the control of our open borders. On Monday, the foreign embassies concerned and the relevant Hungarian embassies abroad were informed about our measures.

[Fekete] Mr. Minister, in relation to economic refugees, you just made a reference to international crime. Experts today are still not sure whether the new, internationally organized crime wave has hit Hungary. What is your opinion on this issue?

[Horvath] Crime in Hungary is definitely becoming more and more organized. Nevertheless, I think that international crime is still only trying to find its way toward Hungary; at the moment, international gangs are definitely not instructing Hungarian criminals, or Hungarian criminal groups.

[Fekete] The "Hakan affair" [alleged Turkish mafia organization in Hungary] was given much publicity. The case hints at foreign organizations and criminal circles operating in Hungary, but it also raises another issue that is perhaps even more problematic. To put it mildly, the police and the intelligence agencies are not on the best of terms.

[Horvath] The two organizations have different methods, different tasks, and, let us face it, they have different interests. In the case of a particular criminal incident, the police cannot weigh anything; indeed, it has nothing to weigh. On the other hand, now and again, the intelligence agencies may sacrifice some smaller case in order to speed up the enquiries into another, more important and dangerous case. At such times, there may be conflicting interests. That is why it would be important to draft a law on national security as soon as possible. Such a law would clearly stipulate who can do what with reference to national security interests, and how far the competence of the intelligence agencies stretches. Such a law would also designate the areas where the intelligence agencies can no longer interfere. The bill on national security has already been drafted, and it is being discussed by the various ministries at the moment.

[Fekete] Mr. Minister, at one of your meetings, many people were hurt when you accused the employees of the Interior Ministry of being on a slow-down strike. The

police were particularly offended by this statement. Could you tell us in greater detail to what you were referring?

[Horvath] Unfortunately, too many people took this personally, which was quite unnecessary. Regardless of that, I do not regret what I said. It was precisely the press that drew my attention to the fact that in some cases, the police force does not intervene, or it intervenes too late. In my speech, I called this a slow-down strike. Nevertheless, I have been pleased to see a fundamental change in the situation these last few weeks. Numerous daring investigations, which have also been reported in the press, prove that there has been a change. Policemen know how to work. At least they can work on those cases where they do not have to confront citizens in order to solve a crime. Policemen are still uncertain in the case of fights, however, where two sections of society come into confrontation with their differing views.

[Fekete] You have already mentioned the press. For some time, you have also been urging a general law on the police force.

[Horvath] This law is being drafted—in fact, several alternatives have been drafted—and I hope it will be ready before the end of 1990. This is an important law for everyone, because it should protect both citizens and policemen at the same time.

[Fekete] Policemen are still uncertain. Our chiefs of police are particularly uncertain, because they still do not know how long they will remain in office, if they remain at all....

[Horvath] A month ago, the National Assembly was presented with a bill which would enable us to fill chief of police posts in the future by issuing tenders. Meanwhile, the tenders have been prepared, and the future jury for the applications has also been established. Unfortunately, there has been no room yet for this bill in parliament's busy schedule. Nevertheless, as soon as parliament gives its blessing to the bill, we will publish the tenders.

[Fekete] The first round of the local elections is behind us. Many people, however, are still uncertain whether the local self-governing bodies will be able to function on the basis of the law [on self-governing bodies] that was elaborated with such great difficulty.

[Horvath] I am sure that the self-governing bodies will be able to function. I think that parliament passed a good law at the end of its long debate. The government proposal on temporary instructions has already been drafted, and the bill on public service has also been presented to parliament. Furthermore, we try to help mayors and members of representative committees in their work by publishing various guidebooks and pocket books.

[Fekete] Nevertheless, anxious people refer to the lack of economic funds....

[Horvath] The government has already decided on local taxes, and it cannot be disputed that all self-governing bodies should receive budget aid. The only reason for anxiety, then, is the fact that the whole country is very poor. Our economic situation was not particularly encouraging; furthermore, it has now been made worse through the collapse of the Soviet market, the surprisingly quick German unification process, the Gulf crisis, and the unprecedented drought.

[Fekete] Different parties have a different analysis of the apathy encountered during the first round of the local elections. Do you think that the 40-percent participation rate was a success or a failure?

[Horvath] That rate corresponds to the participation rate in Western European local elections; therefore, I would certainly not call it a failure. It is definitely not a failure, given that the electorate was called to the ballot boxes for the fifth time this year. Furthermore, the electorate was probably put off voting by many people who frightened them by saying that all sorts of laws were missing. Moreover, people were uncertain whether the newly elected bodies would function.

[Fekete] How do you assess the fact that a surprising number of old leaders were reelected in the end?

[Horvath] Relatively few old leaders were reelected because many of them did not even run for office. Nevertheless, it is true that, among the old leaders who did run, a good deal won their elections (about two-thirds of them). The people who had worked honestly in the past were reelected, and that is exactly how it should be.

Skubiszewski Remarks on Purpose of USSR Visit

LD1010201990 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Statement by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski before his flight to the Soviet Union—recorded]

[Text] There are a great number of issues. We are dealing with numerous bilateral issues, and regarding these bilateral issues, I think I have already prepared my visit in the recent one-and-a-half hour talk with Minister Shevardnadze in New York. The minister told me that, apart from bilateral issues, he would like to discuss various European matters with me which are very topical today. There is also my visit to Kiev and Minsk, as well as a double one to Moscow—to Moscow as the capital of the USSR and to Moscow as the capital of the Russian Federation. Regarding the three republics—the Russian Federation, the Ukrainian Republic, and the Belorussian Republic—it will mean establishing relations on a wider basis. Various relations have existed up to now, although they have been firmly subordinated to the center. At present, our policy in relation to the USSR and the nations that are our neighbors... well, it follows two tracks: that of the center and that of our neighboring republics. There are a great number of issues here.

Soviet Coverage of Polish Foreign Minister's Visit

WA1110142390

For USSR coverage on the visit of Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewki to Moscow, see the East Europe section of the 11 October Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Skubiszewski Reports on Abolition of Visas for FRG

AU0810175690 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 8 Oct 90 p 2

["Ws." report: "Skubiszewski: Poland Wants Abolition of Compulsory Visas"]

[Text] Berlin—In the opinion of Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski, compulsory visas are not an appropriate means to curb the black marketeering and illicit work of Poles in Germany. He said on Berlin regional television that strict regulations and close checks of these persons are required to prevent such activities, but the introduction of compulsory visas is no solution. His country wants all visas to be abolished, but this must be carefully prepared, he said. He announced negotiations with the German Government on relevant regulations.

Polish Foreign Minister Skubiszewski commented optimistically on the future of German-Polish relations. At an international symposium of the "German Helsinki Human Rights Committee" in the Berlin Reichstag, Skubiszewski said that there are problems and difficulties, but reconciliation has already been completed to a high degree by human contacts and the succession of generations. With the unification of Germany and of Europe, World War II and its consequences have become part of the past. The serious crimes and sufferings during the war are becoming part of the past, especially in the opinion of the young generation. However, these years of terror must be kept in mind. But they must not become the source of hatred and prejudices, he said.

The bold initiatives of the churches in the two states resulted in the change in thinking in German-Polish relations. The Polish Catholic bishops' words on the mutual forgiving of guilt were voiced on behalf of the Polish people 25 years ago. "The bishops' words on the mutual forgiving of guilt will always be valid, and they are part of our policy and political philosophy. I fully understand the sufferings of the Germans who lost their homeland because of hostilities, expulsion, or evacuation," the Polish foreign minister said. Those Germans suffered much misery and injustice. "This is very difficult for me and I am sorry that it happened."

Spokeswoman's Conference Summarizes Weekly News

AU0810113490 Warsaw PAP in English 1656 GMT 5 Oct 90

[Text] Warsaw, Oct. 5—"The date of announcement by Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki of his decision to run for president surprised many of us," Minister Aleksander Hall told journalists who arrived at a weekly conference of government spokeswoman Malgorzata Niezabitowska.

"There is a serious risk that if the presidential elections are won by a politician who is in the opposition to the line of the government, this line would be questioned," said Hall. "The continuation of the present line called that the prime minister run for presidency."

He said that most probably Mazowiecki's electoral team will be formed during a meeting of the Alliance for Democracy and Mazowiecki's other allies in Krakow on October 7.

Hall said that the general rules of the electoral campaign in mass media, and particularly in the television, will be defined by the State Electoral Commission. The government wants the arguments of all candidates to be presented.

Vice-Minister of Finance Wojciech Misiag, who was taking part in the conference, said that Lech Walesa's proposal that every citizen of Poland receive 100 million zlotys which (in the latter's opinion) would lead to the acceleration of the privatization process dismissed the idea as "no way to restructure the economy."

"The Government of the Republic of Poland does not want to exert influence on the Polish independence-oriented forces in exile," said Hall while answering a question concerning the conclusion of the work of the government in exile in London. Hall did not confirm

that there are plans to invite President-in-Exile Ryszard Kaczorowski for the ceremonies of inauguration of a new president. "But it is certain that the Polish Government will make certain gestures to honour the work of independence-oriented emigration circles," he said.

"Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski will visit the Soviet Union between October 10 and 15, following the invitation from Eduard Shevardnadze," said deputy government spokesman Edward Krzemien. "During his visit Skubiszewski will tour the Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian Republics. The visits in Belorussia and the Ukraine will be the first official visits there ever. The visit will also be a sign of the new Polish Eastern policy. It is to serve towards starting negotiations on a new Polish-USSR treaty. Discussed will be also matters pertaining to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, the creation of a legal platform for contacts with republics bordering on Poland, the settlement of mutual financial claims, the improvement of the standard of living of Poles in the east, and the elimination of barriers in tourist traffic."

"The Government of the Republic of Poland recognizes the right of Lithuania to sovereignty, but bilateral relations will be the better, the better possibilities there are for Poles living in Lithuania to manifest their national identity," Krzemien said.

While answering questions on the attitude of the government to the autonomy drive of Lithuanian Poles, Krzemien stressed that the government perceives it as a historic process and it would not like its stance to be recognized as an interference in somebody's internal affairs. "The government is of the opinion that Poles living in Lithuania, Belorussia, and the Ukraine should be a uniting element in the process of reconciliation and establishing friendship between nations."

Aleksander Hall said that the prime minister ordered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to prepare suitable decisions related to lifting visa requirements for Germans coming to Poland. "Expected is a reciprocal move on the part of Germany," Hall said.

Edward Krzemien said that Poland is ready for talks and a draft of the border treaty is ready, adding that negotiations should start within the next few days. Poland is waiting for the conclusion of unification ceremonies in Germany.

Higher prices of petrol are an outcome of smaller supplies of cheap oil from the USSR and will be gradually adjusted to those on world markets, journalists were told.

Jaruzelski Speaks on Political Struggle, Elections

AU0910143390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with President Wojciech Jaruzelski, by RZECZPOSPOLITA editor in chief Dariusz Fikus in Warsaw on 1 October: "A Diabolical Whirlwind of Events"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] I conducted this interview on 1 October 1990 in the Belvedere Palace. It lasted one-and-one-half hours. Apart from what has been transcribed, it concerned the most important events in Poland and the world. The president believes that the situation in Poland is exceptionally difficult. The political struggle is gaining momentum, and the election campaign is exacerbating disputes even further. The Middle East conflict, the situation in the USSR, German unification—all these events will have consequences for us, including negative ones. The Poles like to seek someone to blame for our backwardness, mainly outside our borders. Yet the origin of our failures and successes, and the very source of our chances, lies right here, on the Vistula. The president called for a more critical look at ourselves.

[Fikus] In our interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, the last secretary of the Polish United Workers Party, we asked him whether he was sorry about the passing of the Polish People's Republic. We would like to ask you the same question. We are witnessing the collapse of real socialism. I have just returned from Germany, where the downfall of socialism is particularly evident and dramatic. Ever since 1960, when you were appointed chief of the Polish Army Main Political Administration, you have held important positions in authority. At the same time, you yourself have contributed to the fall of this system.

[Jaruzelski] That is a sentimental question. If that is how one views the matter, then indeed I am sorry. After all, you are asking about years of my youth, years of honest, hard work by several generations of Poles. Of course we can reject sentimentalism and weigh the past to see whether it is good or bad.

I am not and never have been in favor of assessing the past in that way. Remember that that is the way people have tried to assess the past. Everything that happened further back in time, especially before the war, had to be bad, and what we did after the war "naturally" had to be good. Later we gradually altered this stereotype somewhat, both concerning our approach to Poland's history, and our political thinking. Today I can also see a certain stereotype, but in a different guise. The past 45 years are "black," and the period between the wars and the present period are "white." And yet life and real history have much more colors than that. I believe the "pendulum" will come to rest eventually.

You ask about the reason for the paradox that a man so high up in the apparatus of authority of the previous era has contributed to its transformation. That is only apparently a paradox. Life is not at a standstill. I am drawing realistic conclusions. I attach supreme importance to Poland's interests, the way I see them. At the same time, I am faithful to the authentic values of the left, the way they are interpreted today. The collapse of the system applies to real socialism, and not to the ideological-moral

values that are recognized all over the world in various forms and to varying degrees.

But let us get back to the subject. Over the past few years we implemented a program of renewal—in political life, social life, and the economy. Quantitative changes occurred during the struggle between opposites, during the clash between reformist and conservative trends. I do not mean to say that the present situation is a straightforward continuation or result of that process. Of course it is not. Here we have a completely new quality. Whether it is a better quality in every respect, the future will show. However, the fact is that the state leadership of the 1980's possessed enough responsibility and courage to bring about the "roundtable" and then see to it that the radical changes occurred in an evolutionary, peaceful manner. It is my sincere wish that they may bring permanent success to Poland.

[Fikus] You said Poland is the greatest value for you. Your great grandfather fought for Poland against tsarist Russia, your grandfather spent 10 years in exile, your father died of starvation in the depths of Russia, and you yourself chopped trees in Siberia. Our country's independence has been a basic issue ever since the war. During Stalin's life, this issue was treated one way, and under the Brezhnev doctrine another way. There were objective restrictions to our independence, but even so there has always been some margin of freedom. Do you think we made good use of this margin?

[Jaruzelski] I can only speak for myself. I never checked the width of this "margin," as you put it. I have always thought we should solve our own issues realistically, in a way that is best for Poland at a given time. Did this always succeed? Certainly not. The sovereignty of the former socialist states was restricted at various times and to varying degrees. But there is no doubt that in Poland the restriction was always smaller. We were even an "island of heresy" in the middle of the 1980's. It was not until Gorbachev and perestroyka that a new situation gradually emerged.

And apart from that, do people not easily forget what kind of a "miracle" we are on the Odra and Nysa [Oder-Neisse] Rivers? And are not economic relations with the Soviet Union all-important? I have no reason to worship Stefan Kisielewski, but I think every thinking Pole should read his article "Who Needs Poland?" in the 20 February 1990 issue of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY.

[Fikus] What are your thoughts during the emergence of a united German state?

[Jaruzelski] They are varied. Events have been much faster than those foreseen in any scenario. Therefore there are many unknown quantities and various surprises.

One thing is sure: Without a settlement of the German question according to new principles, i.e. overcoming Germany's division, it would not have been possible to overcome the division of Europe.

A great step has been taken in this direction. It conforms to the spirit of the CSCE. It conforms to joint intentions to revitalize dialogue and comprehensive international cooperation. Therefore it closes the confrontational chapter of our continent's postwar history. It opens European prospects wide.

But new problems and tasks are also appearing. The unification of Germany is changing the balance of forces. In order to prevent the balance from being upset, it is essential to accelerate the process of all-European integration, build a system of collective security, lead to a fundamental decrease in armaments, and establish conditions and a climate for complete mutual confidence.

From Poland's point of view, it is exceedingly important to cleanse our mutual relations of the weight of the past, resolve delayed or controversial issues honorably, and, most of all, conclude a treaty on the Odra-Nysa border.

This is closely connected with the development of good-neighborly and equal cooperation and the salvaging of our interests, especially economic ones, connected with the GDR.

We are approaching the new era of Polish-German relations with goodwill. The two biggest countries in this part of Europe should live in harmony with each other, in mutual respect and friendship. That is a great trial, but also a chance presented by history.

Our Polish position in the changing Europe will mainly depend on whether we are capable of displaying as much consistency, pragmatism, and resilience as the Germans in achieving economic and domestic and foreign policy objectives, and whether we are capable of rising above our differences, uniting our forces, and directing our energies not at the past but at the future. Time will provide the answer. May it be in the affirmative.

[Fikus] I would also like to discuss martial law and the events leading up to it. A lot of material has recently emerged on the subject of preparations for military intervention. Do you not think it is worth lifting the veil of secrecy a little?

[Jaruzelski] I still feel the drama of those days, as if it were yesterday. And yet it happened nine years ago. I have probably answered questions like this 90 times already, in various interviews and articles. Of course my replies were abridged and concise; the most exhaustive interview was in GAZETA WYBORCZA last December. In any case, a lot more articles by other authors also appeared. Nevertheless, I realize that broader information is required, but I have never had time to supply it. Therefore I will answer the same way as usual. That was a diabolical whirlwind of events, a disastrous tangle. Threatened with fire, the Polish ship was losing its stability and control, in addition to which it was showered with the cold water of East-West relations. That is

the basic truth. Perhaps I will speak out more exhaustively on this subject one day, in my memoirs. I think they could be interesting and enlightening.

[Fikus] Martial law has a bearing on opinions about you, and is the subject of endless talk. What was the political significance of martial law, and how was the period used in order to reform the state and the economy?

[Jaruzelski] I am not offended by criticism, but I do not like it if the criticism is shallow, unfair, and malicious.

Assessments of martial law are still varied. It still causes controversy. That is not surprising. But no one should forget the domestic and external situation at the time; I repeat, the situation at the time.

Let me put it in picturesque terms. That "purgatory" was necessary so that we might go to "heaven."

One has to admit that despite clear and partially successful efforts, we failed to reform the state and economy after martial law in accordance with needs and expectations. There were subjective and objective reasons for this—the deep economic collapse of 1980 and 1981, the later sanctions, and the conservatism of the major part of the apparatus and cadres. But there was also society's opposition to unpopular but economically necessary reforms, as illustrated by the results of the referendum. There were errors and inconsistencies, especially in cadres policy. Last but not least, there was a political struggle which did not make life easier.

Nevertheless, the corset of doctrine was finally loosened, and it is the final results that count—the conditions for compromise, and then profound political changes, were created.

Of course, from the distance of today, one can ask "what if." That is a very popular question. Where would we be today were it not for martial law? What would have happened if the opposition of those times had given me more room to maneuver? What if the opposition had done what it did eight years later? What if there had been greater consistency in implementing reforms, and a greater success of these reforms? What if the extremism on both sides had not pushed us toward hatred, but toward accord? What if the international situation had been more favorable for us? I have already said many times that if there is one thing I deeply regret, it is the circumstances that led to martial law.

Later we tried to overcome the effects of those painful years with patience. The attempts were varied. Some were more successful than others. But there were such attempts, and they broadened in a pioneering manner the horizon of changes that were essential in order to set our country on the path of modernity. I did what I could to pave the way to these processes.

[Fikus] There is a great debate going on about the Constitution, the reforms to the state, and the powers of the president, Sejm, and government. From the point of view of your own term of office, how do you see the president's position in Poland's political system?

[Jaruzelski] As head of state and supreme body of authority, the president should have the nation's mandate. That is why the Sejm's decision to hold an earlier general election is correct.

The president can be neither a figurehead nor a dictator. As far as the president's position in the triangle of authority is concerned, it seems that the best solution would be something halfway between the Italian and French systems.

The best arrangement would be one where these three institutions, parliament, the president, and the government, harmoniously create an efficient mechanism for the democratic functioning of the state.

I will wish the new president success in breaking the chain of misfortunes with Polish presidents. I do not mean of course personal characteristics, but the prestige of the state and of its highest institutions. It is not powers that determine the role and strength of the president as much as consistency, courage, and society's support and confidence.

That is one of the reasons that I decided to break up this strange debate about the presidential chair and proposed a curtailment of my presidency. I am counting on it that cultural and rational solutions like this will be beneficial to the future president, who will be chosen in a general election.

I also trust that the present stir surrounding the presidency, connected with hopes for the better, will not have a negative effect on the future. For people come and go, but the problems remain and require hard work to solve them. Above all, they require a unification of the people.

[Fikus] Why do you think a curtailment of your presidency will be better for Poland? What made you reach this decision?

[Jaruzelski] I was guided by the supreme interests of the nation and state. The idea to step down was not forced upon me by some emergency situation. I think the present political set up is working normally, and that the president's cooperation with parliament and the government is good. But time is flying. My chief task was to guarantee a safe, evolutionary nature of changes, a kind of "soft landing." The path of the reforms is now irreversible. In this situation, one can take another step forward in the process of making the state democratic. A general presidential election, followed by a parliamentary one, are such a step.

My decision stems from an obvious need to unite the people, not divide them. Therefore I met the expectations of some members of parliament and a part of society halfway also in order to dispel unnecessary emotions at a time when the sate and nation need a collective effort, rational reforms, and efficient authorities.

Peasants Party Names Presidential Candidate

LD1010213190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] The Supreme Executive Committee of the Polish Peasant Party, the PSL, has recommended Roman Bartoszcze to the Supreme Council as candidate for the post of president. The Supreme Council is to meet on Friday [12 October].

'Solidarity' Commission Backs Walesa Candidacy

AU0810205190 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Alicja Balinska and PAP report: "Lech Walesa's Plan of Action"]

[Text] On Wednesday, 3 October, the "Solidarity" National Commission adopted the following resolution:

"The 'Solidarity' National Commission welcomes with satisfaction and hope Lech Walesa's decision to stand as a candidate for the office of president of the Republic of Poland.

"An election victory for Lech Walesa would crown the ten-year struggle that our union and its chairman have waged in order to restore freedom and independence, pluralist democracy and a market economy to Poland.

"Lech Walesa has shown that he is an effective politician. On many occasions, in some of the most difficult times that our nation and state have faced, he was able to find solutions that radically accelerated the process of change in Poland.

"The 'Solidarity' National Commission is convinced that a Lech Walesa presidency would represent a qualitatively new period in the history of Poland. The person of Lech Walesa guarantees that on matters of vital importance for the union, the functioning of the state administration will be more dynamic and effective.

"The 'Solidarity' National Commission supports Lech Walesa's candidacy, because it believes that Poland needs his courage, far-sightedness, and vigor in these difficult times.

"The 'Solidarity' National Commission calls on all unionists and all union cells to actively participate in the election campaign."

Thanking the commission for the confidence and support expressed in the resolution, Walesa said that he had no fears about how the country as a whole would vote because of the high percentage of votes he had obtained from members of the National Commission in Gdansk, where it is hardest to win such a degree of support.

He said: "I will do everything to see to it that the ideals of 'Solidarity' are realized, and you will help me in that. He has appointed Jacek Merkal head of his election campaign staff.

During the debate, Walesa said that meeting with the primate on 18 September had made him announce his decision sooner. He said: "I did not want people to suspect that something was happening behind society's back, that is would be some kind of new 'roundtable.' The days of 'striking bargains' are over, and the days of election campaigning with the participation of society are beginning."

The "Solidarity" chairman said: "I have been fighting to have things speeded up since March, because simple loyalty toward society calls for things to be speeded up. We are behind by at least six months, although those who called us 'accelerators' have now started to accelerate things themselves."

While giving their support to Lech Walesa's candidacy, the members of the commission did, nevertheless, make numerous comments. For example, Piotr Jaszcza said: "The union should not decide who holds the office of the union's natural opponent, which is what the president, prime minister, or minister always is. Alojzy Pietrzyk said: "If Lech Walesa is defeated, 'Solidarity' will be defeated." There was also speculation about whether Walesa, if he were elected president, would want to see a stronger or a weaker trade union. Walesa jokingly responded that "that is something for employers to worry about."

The National Commission also addressed the issue of holding parliamentary elections as quickly as possible—as soon as is technically feasible—and of fielding their own union candidates in them. Walesa offered to have his photograph taken with union candidates as a form of electoral endorsement, but was skeptical about the prospects of a great electoral success. Wojciech Arkuszewski, Michal Boni, and Lech Kaczynski said that the union's appetite for representation in the Sejm should be limited to 30 or 40 seats—which would make it possible for the union to initiate legislation—so that there would be no large number of union deputies who would find themselves confronted with the dilemma of forming a government or joining a coalition government. This would threaten the "purity" of "Solidarity" as a trade union and lead the union into conflicts. Andrzej Slowik gave his support to Lech Walesa's candidacy, seeing it as providing a chance for Poland to be the winner.

The future of "Solidarity" itself was discussed within the context of presidential and parliamentary election campaigning. There was another clash between the concepts of "Solidarity" as a "pure" union and "Solidarity" as a social movement that should oversee the implementation of reform. This latter concept still seems to have more supporters and is supported by Lech Walesa until free Sejm elections are held. Lech Walesa suggests that "Solidarity" should be exclusively a union only once this final task of free Sejm elections has been completed.

Michal Boni argued: "We need a strong 'Solidarity,' and we have to be conscious of the different social roles, so that in a year's time our members do not accuse the

national commission of fighting 'our' president. In the case of Tadeusz Mazowiecki and his government, the process lasted a very long time. Meanwhile, we, as a union, are not aware of what is happening in plant union organizations and the problem of branch structures; we perceive wage demands in a simplistic manner, and we are unable to find partners in local government. 'Solidarity' and Lech Walesa, Lech Walesa's 'Solidarity' are a chapter that is drawing to a close. The 'Solidarity' of the 1990's will be a new chapter and what is needed is a discussion about concepts, the union's program, and the future."

Jan Rulewski stressed the continued deterioration in the mood of the public, and emphasized the need to counteract this not through "your mirages, Lech," but through the creation of a bridge that would facilitate the transition to a new system. He said that this kind of concept was missing, and what there was instead was Lech Walesa's "paternalism."

In the afternoon, the National Commission worked on its statute. A discussion was also started on important questions such as minimum incomes, minimum wages, a law on plant collective agreements, the privatization of retail trade and, finally, unemployment, which is a source of particular anxiety among the public.

Walesa, Mazowiecki Assessed for Presidency

PM0810104190 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 19 Sep 90 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Deputy Henryk Wujec, Citizens Parliamentary Club (OKP) secretary, by GLOS PORANNY correspondent Henryk Sroczynski on 17 Sep 90; place not given]

[Text] [Sroczynski] Several different dates for the presidential and parliamentary elections are currently under consideration. In your opinion, when could the elections take place?

[Wujec] I believe that a general presidential election should take place as soon as possible. Considering the necessity to introduce certain amendments in to the Constitution and promulgate a new electoral law, the earliest possible date for the elections could be set for early December.

[Sroczynski] If, however, the Sejm refuses agree to this bringing forward of the date of the elections, would that then put into operation the Center Alliance proposal to have the new president elected by the National Assembly?

[Wujec] I do not expect the Sejm to fail to reach an agreement on the matter of the presidential election. To have the president elected by the National Assembly would be an unfortunate solution and I believe that such an eventuality does not come into question at all.

[Sroczynski] What chances are there for a joint presidential and parliamentary election?

[Wujec] This would certainly be a more economical solution. However, while it will be relatively easy to set the date for the presidential election, there are certain factors which complicate matters somewhat in the case of parliamentary elections. The present Sejm must carry out a certain prescribed minimum of legislative work to ensure that all state mechanisms can continue to operate normally in the interregnum period during which the election will be held. If certain legislative work currently under way were to be abandoned, a number of social groups could suffer in consequence of such a move. For example, it would adversely affect farmers, since—as we know—the farmers' pensions act is valid only until the end of this year. Consequently, an amendment to the act should be introduced before that deadline.

[Sroczynski] We know what the OKP is currently carrying out a review of all parliamentary bills....

[Wujec] Yes. A critical selection of the bills already submitted to the Sejm Speaker's Office and those which the government intends to submit will allow us to specify a possible date by which the Sejm could be expected to complete its work. If the analysis indicates that it is possible to limit the Sejm's work to completing just the few most important parliamentary acts, then we will have a realistic chance of carrying out joint presidential and parliamentary elections. In such a case, a January date could be feasible. If, however, it turns out that joint elections could not take place until February or March, then the presidential election is likely to be carried out earlier.

[Sroczynski] Many people are opposed to the idea of two election campaigns....

[Wujec] This is true. But the tension connected with the whole presidential issue is so great that we really should not defer the election of a new president any longer.

[Sroczynski] Do you believe that Prime Minister Mazowiecki will join the contenders to the president's office?

[Wujec] I believe he will.

[Sroczynski] Assuming that Walesa and Mazowiecki both run for president, what will be the style of the presidential campaign?

[Wujec] It would be a clash of two outstanding individualities, and consequently we would have a first-rate campaign, conducted in a truly grand political style.

[Sroczynski] If Tadeusz Mazowiecki is defeated in the contest, what will his position be? Would he accept a prime minister's portfolio?

[Wujec] This would depend both on the president and on Tadeusz Mazowiecki himself. But the prime minister is such a distinguished personality in his own right that there is no need to worry about his future.

[Sroczynski] What do you think about Lech Walesa as a presidential candidate?

[Wujec] Everybody knows—and you certainly do, too—that I regard Lech Walesa as an eminent politician. However, in my opinion Tadeusz Mazowiecki is a better—indeed, much better—candidate for the office of president. Lech Walesa would be better fitted for a more active post. His talents are best used when he works with a large team concentrating many strong individualities. I remember how splendidly he coped as the head of the conflict-ridden team of the Solidarity National Commission. One of our journalists actually said that Walesa, who needs to work in a post that requires much dynamic activity, would be best placed in the office of prime minister. This is, perhaps, a paradoxical but nonetheless very interesting idea. It is also very true: Lech Walesa is magnificent among strong personalities; on the other hand, as an individual person.... Recently there have been a number of objections and reservations about his methods of action, his public statements, and so on.... Consequently, if Walesa were to be elected president, the choice would be associated with a considerable risk.

[Sroczynski] What is your forecast about the political landscape in the Sejm after the elections? Many small parties can be expected to run for parliamentary seats.

[Wujec] Today it is impossible to decide which party is small and which is large. We will not be able to assess the true situation until after the elections. I would expect the Sejm to introduce an electoral law designed to prevent the formation of a mosaic of too many small political groups. I expect that certain parties will have to enter into coalitions and alliance pacts with others in order to force their candidates through. A parliament composed of representatives of several dozen individual parties will always be a powerless parliament. As such, it will command no authority.

[Sroczynski] Do you expect the parliamentary election campaign to be especially rough?

[Wujec] Yes, it should be quite rough. However, the roughness should be evident only in heated verbal contests and arguments. But I am afraid that certain personal accents will also be introduced as weapons in these contests. We already had several attempts to introduce such methods. At the moment all sides declare their commitment to the preservation of fair play, so we will have to see to it that the declaration is strictly adhered to.

[Sroczynski] What hopes can we pin on the meeting of the representatives of the main political forces with the primate, Cardinal Glemp?

[Wujec] It has always been the rule that the church assumed the role of mediator at difficult points in history—and thus it can be expected to do so now. Consequently, I believe that the meeting called by Cardinal Glemp could prove extremely useful. I should not think that any substantive matters will be decided there, since that is the brief of the appropriate constitutional bodies, but the discussion can surely be expected to center on procedural questions, optimum rules of play, and so on. The episcopate is certainly interested in our smooth transition to democracy.

KPN's Moczulski Interviewed on Election Chances

LD0810160190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 8 Oct 90

[Text] Leszek Moczulski, chairman of the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], has been nominated as a successive candidate for the presidential elections by a decision of the Political Council of this party. At a news conference, Leszek Mocuzulski was asked how he assessed his chances during these elections.

[Begin Moczulski recording] The confederation is not fighting for positions. We never fought for positions or power. If we had wanted to fight for positions and power, then over many years now we could have accepted various proposals; at least, from the time when the Citizens Committee was created and the roundtable talks started, etc. We preferred not to put forward any candidates during parliamentary elections in June last year, just for the sake of having deputies and finding oursleves on other peoples' lists, right? We are not after personal victories. We simply want to push Poland to the place it should go.

The issue is simple: If elections were to take place today, and if Walesa were to get the same as his electoral rating, say 36 or 38 percent, while Mazowiecki got 31 percent, and if were to get 10 percent, I would then give this 10 percent to the man who says: I am restoring the Constitution of independent Poland; I reject Balcerowicz's Plan; I will take radical steps to protect the natural environment and the health of citizens; I defend agriculture, etc.... Well, the person who accepted our program would receive our votes. [end recording]

Najder, Geremek Comment on Presidency, Society

AU0510110290 Gdansk TYGODNIK GDANSKI in Polish 30 Sep 90 pp 1,4

[Untitled roundup of answers given by Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club, and Zdislaw Najder, chairman of Lech Walesa's Citizens Committee, to questions from TYGODNIK GDANSKI compiled by Jaroslaw Kurski; place and date not given]

[Text] The editors of TYGODNIK GDANSKI asked Bronislaw Geremek and Zdislaw Najder to comment on three topics: 1. A "Year of Mazowiecki" 2. What kind of president should we have and who should be president? 3. Threats to Polish democracy.

Bronislaw Geremek

1. I think that it was a good year for Poland, for both the economy and politics. Hyperinflation was successfully checked, money recovered its value, and shortages were

also eliminated. These facts are of capital importance for the future. In the sphere of politics and the state, the party's monopoly and indeed the Communist Party itself were eliminated. Poland is the only country in which the party has completely disappeared from the political landscape. This means that there is no danger of a return to communist rule in Poland.

In assessing the year as a whole, I would say that it was decidedly positive, but I do see there being certain weaknesses. The mass media have failed to evolve a sufficiently pluralist form. The degree of public participation in decisionmaking processes also leaves much to be desired. Both these problems are linked to one another. If the government managed to make better use of the mass media, it would have a chance to engage in dialogue with society. During the course of the year, a considerable feeling of frustration arose among farmers and workers, to whom more serious attention should be paid in thinking about the future evolution of Poland.

2. The question about the presidency is also a question about models of public life. What I would like to see is not only a democratic model, but one in which there is also no room for men of the moment or extraordinary institutions. The main problem in Polish politics is realizing what we announced at the end of last year when we amended the Constitution. We said that Poland is a state that observes the rule of law—that not only means an independent judiciary and respect for the law, but also the supremacy of the law vis-a-vis all government, the apparatus of government, and all people who exercise power. We will see who will be able to be president under this type of model in a way that will ensure that the basic principles underpinning it are respected.

3. There are numerous threats. I am thinking of the wave of populism and hatred that has begun to roll through Polish public life and has weakened the legacy of "Solidarity"—a legacy of public life that is based on respect for certain imponderable moral values, and certain ethical rules.

However, I think that no less a threat to Poland's future is posed by public apathy, an aversion to politics, a mistrust of elites, and a sense of hopelessness. It will not be possible to achieve anything in Poland if the legacy of the 1980's, that is, the desire that people had to be active, is not maintained. Our country has defeated communism, but communism still survives in our public mentality. Essentially, the communist system was not only supported by bayonets, but also by social acceptance that manifested itself in the form of passivity. This sorry legacy still exists today.

Zdislaw Najder

1. The government's greatest achievements have been in two areas. A great restructuring of the economy has commenced (inflation has been checked and that is a great achievement) and the entire administrative and legal structure of the state has been reorganized. The political landscape has undergone a complete change. A few months ago people were still afraid of the Ministry of Internal Affairs—today they no longer are. We have seen the abolition of censorship and nothing terrible has happened.

The failures have been in, above all, information policy, which actually does not exist (but it is nevertheless felt that the government manipulates the media). People have to be told that a deterioration in social circumstances does not mean that the reform has been a catastrophe. The prime minister should spend half his time convincing society that he is right. This is particularly necessary in our case, because citizens are not convinced that they can participate in making decisions that will affect the future of the country.

The government is not doing enough to win social acceptance of the sacrifices that we are having to endure and will have to endure. The achievements are enormous, but the failings, especially with regard to society, are also very great.

2. In light of the absence of strong political institutions and traditions that impart order to public life, and in view of the fact that we do not know what the parliament will be like (it might be very divided)—the president will have to perform a stabilizing role. He has to be able to arbitrate between parliament and the government. That is why he will need extensive powers. The president should be seen by society as someone who will guarantee freedoms and an appropriate policy on the part of the government. To answer your question about who should be president, I think that at the present time Lech Walesa stands the greatest chance of being elected.

3. I am worried that we might not be able to shake off the feeling of hopelessness and apathy that has become deeply rooted in society. The fact that people complain and curse in no way means that they are or will become active. As soon as they take on responsibility themselves, they will soon realize that simply making demands leads nowhere. I do not know whether we will be able to mobilize ourselves.

I also do not know whether something can be done to make up for last year's shortcomings in information policy. Will we be able to avoid serious social upheavals and obtain public acceptance of more unemployment and a further drop in the standard of living of the broad mass of society.

Will we be able to convince society that it makes sense to struggle for another year or two until things begin to improve a little?

Solidarity Left Prepares for Upcoming Elections

AU0510082490 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 30 Sep 90 p 3

[Interview with Ryszard Bugaj of the Citizens Deputies Club and one of the founders of the Group for the

Defense of Workers' Interests, by Janusz Jankowiak; place and date not given: "What Is the Best Option for Poland?"]

[Text] [Jankowiak] You belong to the former oppositionists who maintain that the division into right and left is a necessity, not only in democratic conditions, but in the present postcommunist transition period.

[Bugaj] Without a shadow of doubt. Contrary to what people may say, this division will always remain valid, although at different times it will be to a differing degree. It is valid in Poland. I do not mean to say that the political scene should always be divided exclusively into left and right. Today, in Poland these divisions are not sharp, although they are sufficiently clear to enable one to speak of left and right orientations. One has to keep in mind such basic factors as, for example, equal opportunity, differences in wealth, welfare aid, the role of the state in the economic life of the country, and so on. On the other hand, there is the matter of how we look at democratic institutions. Both right and left values can be implemented through a more or less democratic, or for that matter, even a dictatorial system. One might support an evolutionary model with its respect for the law or conversely accept revolutionary changes. There are different ways of approaching the problem of national minorities. All these splits are equally as valid as the straight left-right division. One can easily be a left- or right-wing "revolutionary."

[Jankowiak] Are you saying that the large political groups that have developed from "Solidarity" have defined their ideological programs badly?

[Bugaj] There is much to suggest that the differences between the Center Accord and the Citizens Movement Democratic Alliance [ROAD] will become very acute on the matter of their attitude to democratic institutions and national minorities. As regards socioeconomic policies, I confess I cannot really see any clear-cut distinction between them. I have an unmistakable feeling that both groups are somewhere in the center slightly off to the right of the political spectrum and certainly not on the left, although so far we have very little material to judge them by.

[Jankowiak] Where would you place yourself politically? I understand that this may throw some light on the reasons that make you see a political place for a noncommunist left.

[Bugaj] It is important that we have several political alternatives. Society will thus have a choice. Immediately after the introduction of the stabilization program, it became clear that in terms of socioeconomic policy there would be a marked shift to the right and that welfare policy would only intervene to protect the interests of the labor force to a very insignificant extent. Thus, it was important to think about creating a counterweight. For this reason we in the Citizens Deputies Club created a nonideological pressure group that would concern itself with all problems that the labor force might encounter. Initially, we wanted to call ourselves the "Solidarity" Labor Group. However, some of our members thought that this might be interpreted as a move to usurp the "Solidarity" symbol (at that time the divisions in "Solidarity" were not very developed). So we called ourselves the Group for the Defense of Workers' Interests [Kolo Obrony Interesow Pracowniczych].

[Jankowiak] Defense against whom? Against the government that you as "Solidarity" deputies support? I recall one of the documents that your group circulated. Acceptance of your postulates would have meant a departure from the government's economic program. In the final analysis, the response to that document was somewhat weak.

[Bugaj] Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government was undertaking a historical mission and thus broad political support was only to be expected. This also influenced our attitude to its socioeconomic policy. I think that this explains the absence of any criticism. So, despite the fact that some 30 Sejm deputies are members of our group, our activity is muted. I cannot accept that our document suggested that the government's stabilization program should be scrapped. It may be that the stabilization program should never have been accepted, but once it had been, any changes to it should not be rushed through in haste. Our document only suggested certain corrections. Looking back on it, I think that our suggestions were very sensible.

[Jankowiak] In other words, your document was a failure.

[Bugaj] From the point of view of direct results, yes.

[Jankowiak] Your suggestions were aired at the "Solidarity" congress. Are you going to have more success there?

[Bugaj] We have to wait and see. At the "Solidarity" congress a declaration of intent was signed by approximately 40 people (politicians, trade unionists, and intellectuals). At the beginning of August we already had an outline political program and after further discussions we hope to present the finalized draft to the general public before the end of September, although at this stage I cannot say whether we will be able to keep to this timetable.

[Jankowiak] By saying we, who do you have in mind?

[Bugaj] There are several people working on the draft and Karol Modzelewski, Jan Jozef Lipski, and Professor Jan Mujzel are in this group.

[Jankowiak] A noncommunist left with an important political manifesto. Will this finally define the third way?

[Bugaj] For the next few years, Poland is not going to be a country of democratic capitalism. Nonetheless, we shall have to go forward and if my supposition proves to be correct....

[Jankowiak] But you have to concede that this supposition is rather dogmatic....

[Bugaj] No, it is pragmatic. In my mind it is the attempt to leap into capitalism with one jump, for example, by distributing national property, that sounds dogmatic, ideological, and utopian. This is a project of vast social engineering, an experiment that nobody has ever conducted before. There is a third way in the sense that there is no single and proven way out of communism. However, there is also no single "third way."

[Jankowiak] Are you not hiding behind the criticism of one of the government's draft alternatives? Either way, I think that to equate the third way to the government program is a ruse.

[Bugaj] I do not think so. Some variants of acceleration are so enormous and radical that they imply a revolutionary upheaval. The consequences are unthinkable. It is difficult to imagine a more risky experiment. Its implementation would contradict all the government's past declarations that have said that the distribution of property is a Bolshevik idea. I would not support such a project. I do not think that blind obedience to a government, regardless of the direction it is proceeding in, is very commendable.

[Jankowiak] But you voted for the privatization bill that opened up the alternatives that you are now purporting to reject. However, let us return to the theme of a left-wing program for a democratic Poland.

[Bugaj] I voted for the bill despite its many defects, because I consider ownership changes to be crucial and because this law does not have to let in bad ideas, although admittedly it could be misused. As regards a left-wing program, I think that such an alternative should be available. The important thing is to protect workers' interests. This is not a monopolistic cry to represent the workers' interests politically. Nor is it a "class" program. We want to prepare a comprehensive program document and present it to the public. Later, we could begin to give it institutional form that would express the program's content.

[Jankowiak] Very noble. A party that is to be created around an embryonic political program. What about the content and what would happen if the public rejected your program?

[Bugaj] I do not think we are talking about a party in the classical sense. It would be more of an understanding between certain circles. Should we get a negative response from the public it would mean that the social democratic option was not yet a valid political option and that the counter-reaction against communism was still very strong.

[Jankowiak] Yet another predicted setback at the outset of a new left.

[Bugaj] One has to look at the world realistically. A setback is possible, but I do not think it can last for ever. Do you think that Poland can remain without a social democratic option that has not been tainted by communism? A normal political scene in any democratic state is unimaginable without the presence of a moderate left. Today, the word "left" is akin to an insult in Poland, although, apart from the weak Polish Socialist Party, there is no organized democratic left. I think that there are many people in Poland who accept left-wing values and have interests that our left could articulate.

[Jankowiak] But what about ROAD?

[Bugaj] I do not consider ROAD to be a left grouping.

[Jankowiak] Correct, but that was not the point I wanted to make. How could all the diverse groupings such as the Forum of the Right and your own embryonic grouping come together in the Krakow- based Alliance for Democracy? What pulled you together and how will you narrow down your diverse political tendencies? For example, there is the program of constitutional changes that is bound to have an impact on the economy. This is something that will not be solved by people in a movement that groups people from the left and the right, even if they were to tone down their own divergencies....

[Bugaj] That is why I simply do not know whether our program can be accommodated in the alliance.

[Jankowiak] This is something completely new. You were one of the people at the birth of this alliance.

[Bugaj] I can only say that my leanings are closer to Turowicz than to Jaroslaw Kaczynski, although I believe that a dialogue and even a degree of cooperation within the "Solidarity" framework is very desirable and indeed necessary. In Krakow, my role was limited to keeping people informed on the efforts of a milieu with which I feel linked. I also tried to show that this potential alliance had a definite pluralistic character. Of course, I cannot speak on behalf of the whole alliance.

[Jankowiak] Your personal political inclinations probably explain your participation in the Krakow meetings, but can they explain the alliance between the left and the right entered into with the sole aim of supporting the government's economic program?

[Bugaj] The government has not yet outlined its thinking on two crucial issues, namely, privatization and the future course of its stabilization program. The privatization law produced by the government (adopted by a strange coalition of Citizens Deputies Club and former communists), is to a large extent a law with special powers, but the government has not fully decided what it wants to do with them. Nor is it clear what is to happen with the stabilization program. A great deal depends on this. I will not support the government if it does not present a clear-cut program to combat recession and a sensible privatization program.

[Jankowiak] In that case this would just leave you with "the philosophy of systemic changes in the direction of a democratic state." In other words, the problem of trying

to create an electoral-alliance bloc. How permanent would such an alliance be? Would not such a bloc automatically find itself in fundamental opposition to the government's socioeconomic program (should the government show a tendency to carry on as before) and would this not undermine the sense in continuing such an alliance?

[Bugaj] In fundamental opposition? I think that the matter is somewhat more complicated.

[Jankowiak] Alright, I withdraw the word "fundamental." Let us just say, in opposition. Nevertheless, would you then feel you had to withdraw your support for Balcerowicz's economic program?

[Bugaj] I can only speak for myself, but there are many, so-called, potential part-conflicts. These are generally centered on the appropriate methods and not the general direction that changes to our system are taking. In the short term, there is no chance of carrying through a revolution in the structure of ownership (if one leaves aside the possibility of very risky experiments), because ownership changes should take place naturally under the pressure of the market place. The role of the government has to be rather limited. We should not get on the same path that the communists were on, except that now—and again for doctrinal reasons—we would find ourselves going in the opposite direction. No ideology should be allowed to influence our return to an efficient economy. If it begins to appear that the process of market-created private ownership is becoming effective in the economic and social sense, then we should do everything to speed it up.

[Jankowiak] I would like to bring to your attention the fact that the private sector was the only sector that shrugged off recession in the first half of this year. In my view, one must draw a difference between the ideological fervor of the neoliberals and the actual facts. Until we do this, the so-called ideological thesis will only vaguely approximate to the requirements of economic efficiency. Would you be worried if the state sector in Poland became a minority sector?

[Bugaj] We have to be careful and avoid misunderstandings. The evaluation of private sector results is by no means so emphatic. This in itself is not all that important, because even if the results achieved by the private sector were absolutely miraculous, it would not necessarily imply that we should henceforth distribute all national property. As regards liberal fervor, this surfaced when the stabilization program was being implemented, which in turn produced our present deep recession. If it were not for the recession, the private sector would have developed exceptionally well. Of course, I would not be too perturbed if the state sector in Poland were to shrink substantially.

I want Poland to be a country where people can live reasonably. I am not too worried by the dire warnings of rampant 19th century capitalism, because this will simply not happen. Nevertheless, we must prevent high chronic unemployment, the impoverishment of large social groups, and we cannot allow Poland to become a country on the economic periphery with economic stagnation. All these are very real dangers. As for values that are important to me, I would say that the economy has to fulfill three conditions, namely, it must avoid high unemployment and large discrepancies in wealth, and maintain reasonable growth. Whether this is achieved by a 40 or 80 percent-strong private sector is quite immaterial to me.

[Jankowiak] The qualities that you have mentioned as desirable are not the qualities one finds in an economy that is dominated by the state sector.

[Bugaj] Nor are they a particular feature of economies that are private-sector driven.

[Jankowiak] Do you not feel that all the left-wing groupings in "Solidarity"—assuming they succeed in crystallizing—will find themselves in a highly uncomfortable and unnatural situation?

[Bugaj] Is the division between the Center Accord and ROAD natural or artificial? To many people, their respective programs must seem very similar, especially the socioeconomic parts. The choice facing those people who are inclined to my way of thinking is as follows: Is the support of ideals that we hold dear only possible through our own independent political action or do we have a better chance by joining some broader alliance?

[Jankowiak] What would you do with the various undesirable allies? I see this as a particular problem for you, because you are a noncommunist left.

[Bugaj] I do not think that this is a special situation. Both the Center Accord and ROAD are attracting people from the old communist alliance—like bees to a pot of honey. One must not forget that the former Communist Party had a total monopoly on power and practically everyone found their way into their ranks; from the extreme left, right across the political spectrum to the extreme right (especially the national democracy faction). It is understandable why the post-communist organizations like to describe themselves as left orientated, but this is because they are unable to wash off their true color. Another reason is because the space on the left of the political spectrum seems to be completely deserted. These groups often use leftist political terminology. It would be a disaster, however, if these post-communist groups were to become the sole mouthpiece of the interests of people with left-wing views. I think that the problem of choosing potential allies from the former communist coalition requires the agreement of all "Solidarity" groupings that intend to put forward their own candidates in the upcoming elections. Perhaps we all need to agree that we will not enter into any kind of individual alliances with any organized post-communist groupings. I stress this again: No electoral alliances with any former Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] coalition allies. If any of these post-communist groupings are successful in the

elections it will signify that Polish society has absolved it from its former sins and once again alliances could become permissible.

Naturally, this would have to be done on an individual basis. In the "Solidarity" movement (as well as in the government) there are many people who were once members of the Communist Party or some satellite grouping. One simply cannot accept the theory that the last honest person left the former coalition organizations after 13 December 1981, although this date must be regarded as an extremely important watershed.

[Jankowiak] This sounds very sensible. But looking at the preelection preparations, I doubt whether this is now realistic.

[Bugaj] I do not know. It seems that the Center Accord, by building alliances with the Democratic Party and the Polish Peasant Party is not only gaining a wide organizational network, but it is also forcing ROAD into concluding alliances with former PZPR coalition allies. I would not be at all surprised if the Walesa camp contained some post-communist groups.

[Jankowiak] After you have produced your program document, will you go to seek support for it among "Solidarity" trade union ranks?

[Bugaj] I think we should. Everyone who feels a link with "Solidarity" has a moral duty to seek the support of the trade union, although the trade union should not be treated as some kind of supra-political party. One cannot simply equate "Solidarity" with its leadership.

[Jankowiak] What can the "Solidarity" left promise the electors, apart from its own political ethos?

[Bugaj] No more than would be realistic to strive for. For example, we must slow down recession; introduce moderate wage increases; implement an active economic policy; limit large social disparities; and eliminate privileges and tackle the problem of unemployment. I cannot accept the argument that these things conflict with the introduction of a market economy and ownership transformations. This should not release rampant inflation, although the situation next year will admittedly be very difficult, because it will be influenced by recessionary effects and the accumulated effects of years of under investment as well as the change of our trading relationship with the USSR.

[Jankowiak] And according to you the government's program will not guarantee this?

[Bugaj] I think it does not. The initial government drafts which I have seen set the economic compass towards Europe, but are very hesitant about stating economic growth, real wages, unemployment, and so on. I have the impression that the state is adopting a passive role.

[Jankowiak] This could be a reflection of its political realism and not simply a lack of responsibility.

[Bugaj] I did not say this was lack of responsibility, it is merely a different option for Poland.

Democratic Right Unveils Political Program

AU0910150890 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Oct 90 p 2

[Krzysztof Gottesman report: "The FPD Plays its Cards"]

[Text] The Forum of the Democratic Right [FPD], the second largest grouping after the Citizens Movement Democratic Alliance [ROAD], in the Krakow Alliance for Democracy, has published the first part of its political manifesto. Further installments will be published when ready. The following people are active in the movement: Stanislaw Stomma, Tadeusz Syryjczyk, Henryk Wozniakowski, Jerzy Dietl, and Tomasz Wolek. The FPD describes itself as a discussion platform and a vehicle of cooperation for conservative, liberal, and other Christian-Democratic groupings.

Economic Policy

According to the FPD, the basic cause of the slow tempo of institutional change is the absence of true ownership of the production mechanisms. Privatisation, commercialism, and difficult financial conditions are the chief weapons in the struggle to force through required changes in enterprises. The FPD sees the need to compromise between the general desirability to privatize and create employee share schemes, and the prevailing economic realities. This compromise is implicit in the law on privatisation.

Official measures restricting wage increases are an instrument that generates undesirable results and is out of tune with free market principles. Wage limitation will continue to be necessary for as long as the only interests represented in the enterprise are those of the workforce. With the formation of a normal division of power in the work place, namely, on the one side the owner-employer—interested in profit and effective reinvestment—and on the other the workers—interested in their salaries, it will become necessary to gradually withdraw the official measures that limit wages.

The absence of economic competition—after the absence of true ownership—is another current weakness. The FPD proposes a break-up of large enterprises through the application of antimonopoly measures and the opening of the market to foreign competition.

Changes in the agricultural sector should aim at consolidating farm acreage to economic levels.

FPD supports the principle of opening the Polish economy to the world. Home-based capital is insufficient to meet the demand that will be generated by the necessity to rebuild and modernize the economy. It may be expedient to reintroduce interwar legislation that gave equal rights to foreigners who began economic activity in

Poland, on the condition that this arrangement is reciprocated. Freedom to repatriate profits—which the government has announced—is a better guarantor of profit reinvestment in Poland than any administrative restrictions. These only act to restrict its inflow. One should approach the question of land ownership in the same spirit and transactions in land should be looked at pragmatically, subject to national interest requirements.

Reconstruction of the Polish economy is not possible with a coexisting requirement to repay Poland's foreign debt. It is essential that negotiations take place to reduce this debt.

State policy which has as its aim the support of the emerging entrepreneurial spirit should be implemented with the aid of the tax system, financial instruments, and a system of financial guarantees. Appropriate areas for state intervention are the housing sector, agriculture, and regions of the country that are economically vulnerable. FPD is against state subsidies and believes that state intervention should be restricted to the introduction of mechanisms that stimulate foreign and home-based capital investment, without eliminating the commercial risk borne by the entrepreneur.

The principle of free trade and industry and private ownership should be reflected in the Polish Constitution and given equal prominence with other basic human and civic rights.

Foreign Policy

The FPD considers that a strong and productive economy is the fundamental basis of a state's security. The task of foreign policy is to create the appropriate conditions that will help to achieve this. Its primary task should be Poland's entry into the Council of Europe, membership of all the European Communities (including the European Economic Community), and Polish participation in a European security system.

Conceding that Poland's security is dependent on the democratic processes taking place in the USSR, the FPD supports the democratic and evolutionary nature of these changes. It supports the creation of a Russian state, on the condition that Russia rejects imperialist policies. According to the FPD, the creation of "new sovereign elements" in the European part of the USSR is both possible and beneficial. Cooperation with Lithuania, Belorussia, and the Ukraine must be on the basis of mutual respect for each country's territorial integrity and an open border policy. The Warsaw Pact, irrevocably linked to USSR policies, must be dissolved. Poland is faced by the task of elaborating a new system of European security whose efficacy is strictly dependent on links with the Western defensive system. An essential condition for peace in Europe is the presence of American troops.

Relations with Germany—dictated by economic and geographic factors—must be based on categorical acceptance of the inviolability of the Odra and Nysa [Oder-Neisse] Rivers' border by the parliament of a united Germany.

Relations with Poland's third neighbor, Czechoslovakia, are very important, although the FPD thinks that the concept of forming an institutional bloc with CSFR and Hungary is somewhat unrealistic.

Political System

We consider, states the FPD's document, that Poland's constitutional system should be a product of the compromise between political freedoms, the influence of the nation on state policy, and concern for the stability and efficiency of the state organism. According to the FPD, the best institutional solution for today's Poland is a presidential-parliamentary system. This will require a departure from considering the Sejm as the only organ that has the nation's full authority as well as a departure from the principle of regarding it as having supremacy over all other state organs. The presidency and an independent judiciary should also enjoy full authority. A strong presidency is needed by Poland's young democracy. For the FPD, this is a cardinal principle which should be above personal rivalries and the FPD will take this principle as its guiding light in its future deliberations on the Constitution.

Plenipotentiary on Local Administration Errors

AU0910152690 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Oct 90 p 2

[Interview with Jerzy Rogulski, government plenipotentiary for local government reform, by Renata Wrobel; place and date not given: "If Local Government Does Not Function Well—We Must Investigate"]

[Text] [Wrobel] During the meeting of local assemblies in Poznan last Friday [29 September], you criticized some of the solutions adopted for local self-government. Why were so many errors let through?

[Rogulski] In Poznan, I talked about the conflicts emerging around—among other things—the issue of the newly created regions. I said that the original concept for local government that was proposed at the "roundtable" and in subsequent sessions of the Senate stipulated that the voivodship was to have been the final tier of central government administration. All that was to come below the voivodship level was to be the domain of local government. We foresaw that sometime in the future we would have to create an intermediate tier of administrative units that would be linked to the anticipated voivodship reorganization. We thought that this process should take place through the establishment of direct links between neighboring districts. I remain convinced that this is the right way forward and that is why I think that the regions in their present shape are not the best solution.

[Wrobel] So why was this concept adopted?

[Rogulski] The Sejm passed a law which proposes the creation of administrative units called regions. In practice, however, it has emerged that the regions have a distinct tendency to become something completely different than originally postulated.

[Wrobel] But the bill came to the Sejm directly from the Office of the Council of Ministers. Were you against the bill at that stage?

[Rogulski] I would rather not answer that question, because it will only stir up resentments. I would put it in another way. Reforms on this scale cannot be implemented without any mistakes. It was quite obvious that part of the reform package would fail in practice. At present, many institutions and organizations have a very negative view on the regions. Each example of social dissatisfaction must be examined and we must once again reappraise the concept of the region. This administrative unit was introduced by the law and thus the government cannot simply abolish them.

[Wrobel] Perhaps we should start thinking about appropriate amending legislation?

[Rogulski] Absolutely, and in the meantime we should limit the power of the region and transfer some of its powers to districts. I am convinced that amendments will have to be made.

[Wrobel] Did you anticipate that controversy over local government administration (not only tied to the issue of regions) would be so widespread and acute?

[Rogulski] No. I did not think that their scale would be so widespread. A political decision was taken to hold local elections as soon as possible. Delaying them would not have solved much anyway. However, it seems to me that we should have created a much stronger apparatus for negotiation within the regions and stronger structures that support self-government. At present, there is no advisory service for districts and they are having to rely on their own know-how.

[Wrobel] How do you as government plenipotentiary for local government assess your own powers to defend local administration and influence decisions that concern local administration.

[Rogulski] Until the local elections, my office functioned quite well. At present, we have to make changes. As regards my position generally, I took this post to do a specific job, namely, to begin the process that would create local self-government. This has now happened. The process cannot be reversed. In a short time my role as plenipotentiary will come to an end and the time will be ripe to think about creating a permanent government organ for local government affairs.

[Wrobel] Until that time, do you intend to carry on as plenipotentiary?

[Rogulski] The decision is not mine. I am bound by my duty to Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, my voters, and above all to all those people who answered the call and participated in the creation of our local government structures. This duty also makes it imperative that I highlight all the points that will have to be withdrawn, and which we have to regard as mistakes.

[Wrobel] As we are on the subject of mistakes, one has to ask the question: Who is guilty? What would you say?

[Rogulski] I think that we must avoid mutual recriminations and we have to repair the mistakes together. We must at all costs avoid giving society the impression that the government has given with one hand and is now taking back with another. The truth is that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government is interested in recreating local government, thus, if local administration is ailing we have to diagnose the cause and apply the appropriate cure. This was the aim of my speech at the meeting in Poznan.

Media Executive Examines Politics, Future of TV

AU0910193390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 3 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Jan Dworak, deputy chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, by Jacek Lutomski; place and date not given: "Politics in Television, in Politics"]

[Text] [Lutomski] We have new faces on the television news, and 80 percent of the executive nomenklatura and all foreign correspondents have been replaced. And yet the noise surrounding television is rising instead if aborting. Why?

[Dworak] I think there are two main reasons. First, television tries to be immune to the daily pressure of world politics. Of course, in no democratic system can television liberate itself entirely from politics. Instead, television plays a certain game—it surrounds itself with various institutions and mechanisms meant to protect it from brash politicking. We are at the beginning of this process, we are starting to build such institutions and new customs. And yet at the same time, there is a harsh political contest going on, the presidential and parliamentary elections are approaching, and each political force is trying to present itself in the best possible light with the help of television.

[Lutomski] You are one of those who believe in a conspiracy of politicians against television. Is it not necessary to change your point of view? Is it not television that should lay down clear rules for politicians? I fear that it is a lack of clear-cut rules that is causing the conflicts.

[Dworak] I do not believe in any such conspiracy. I will say this clearly: Each political force wants to use television for its own purposes, and that is natural. However, television should be a medium of social communication,

and I hope it is to some extent. We are supposed to supply an attractive palette of culture and entertainment. We are supposed to educate and inform, including on the subject of politics and parties. But the world of politics must itself lay down the rules for politics to appear on television. That is the way it is in every democratic country, and that, by the way, is also the way it was in Poland before the local government elections. At that time, the electoral commissioner laid down clear rules governing the political forces' access to television. I hope similar rules, clearly explaining the way in which candidates in the presidential and parliamentary election may have access to television will be formulated this time as well. I repeat, it is not our task to draft such rules. But what we want to do is to offer all the major partners five minutes of television time in a very attractive slot, straight after the evening news. We would give each of these parties two 10-minute slots each week, and because there are over 20 such parties, we should be able to present the complete political panorama within six weeks. I would point out that we also have in the same slot government programs that have obviously been put together with the help of the Government Press Office.

[Lutomski] To all intents and purposes, the presidential campaign has already begun, and the chief criticism about it is a lack of symmetry in presenting the candidates.

[Dworak] We have still not checked the amount of air item each politician has. We will begin to do so, but I am sure Lech Walesa has more air time than Mazowiecki and other politicians. Generally speaking, the situation surrounding the presidential campaign is rather inconvenient. One does not know whether the campaign has formally begun or not. No one has established any rules, and yet the struggle to get to the Belvedere has been going on for some time now.

[Lutomski] You said there are two main reasons for the trouble with television. One is politics. And the other?

[Dworak] Financial difficulties. There has not been any new television equipment since the middle of the 1970's.

[Lutomski] You can tell by watching the screen. Only Jan Suzin is capable of saying with stoic calm: "We are sorry, our camera has just fallen apart." Is television technology really so disastrous?

[Dworak] I think we have already crossed the safety threshold.

[Lutomski] Daily troubles are one thing, but there are also sharp debates about the future pattern of television. Are you satisfied with the government's radio and television bill?

[Dworak] From the outside, the chief requirement seems to be the dissolution of the Radio and Television Committee. True, this committee is a relic of the old era, and is disappearing. In its place there will be an eight-man National Broadcasting Council, which will represent all the major political institutions—the Sejm, Senate, prime minister, and president. It will take care of order on the airwaves. Together with the Ministry of Communications and Ministry of Culture and Art, it will issue permission for a program to be broadcasted. The monopolist is disappearing.

[Lutomski] What will be the relationship between the National Broadcasting Council, Program Council, and Supervisory Council? All three bodies appear in draft legislation, and it is not clear how they interrelate.

[Dworak] That is indeed complicated, but no solution is simple. The National Broadcasting and Television Council is the highest decision-making body on general matters. It will supervise the entire media market, which, apart from state radio and television, will also include private stations. According to the government's bill, the head of the six-man Supervisory Council will be appointed by the premier, on the recommendation of the National Broadcasting Council. Therefore it is obvious that the appointment of members of the Supervisory Council must be preceded by a consensus of various political forces. The Supervisory Council will deal with strategy involving state television, in other words finances, technical matters, and programming. It will also appoint the chief of state television. However, the Program Council is an advisory body to which both the Supervisory Council and the head of television may turn for advice. By the way, there are voices calling for a complete break-up of state television, with its two channels and network of television centers.

[Lutomski] Are you against that?

[Dworak] One should not look around too much, one should look ahead. State television should not express the interests of the authorities in power, it should be a fulcrum of social accord and express all views, even those that are critical. The situation on the television market is changing—we can now receive satellite television; cable television is appearing; and there are many ideas for independent private stations. The sooner such a varied television market appears, the better. But the experience of other countries teaches us that one such channel can mean death to state television which, unlike private stations, has various program commitments, such as educational programs and news reports. People then begin to watch nothing but entertainment programs.

[Lutomski] Would the two state channels complement each other or compete against each other?

[Dworak] Each of them must have freedom of programming and far-reaching financial independence.

[Lutomski] I have the impression you prefer the old centralism.

[Dworak] The concept of decentralization, requiring that all the television centers, of which there are eight, with more to follow, be granted legal status, leads to an excessive disintegration. On their own, these stations will be too weak to make sensible investments or stand up to the

competition put up by other stations with greater funds. In such a case, state television would be threatened with collapse. We have a different proposal—greater autonomy and independence by one single institution.

[Dworak] The heads of the television centers have a different opinion, which they have expressed in their bill.

[Lutomski] It would be a great pity if we were to dismantle this institution. Pluralism in broadcasting does not involve dismantling state television, but depriving state television of its monopoly and presenting various views. Today that depends on the reporters. It seems to me that the heads of the television centers have also somewhat mollified their point of view since the recent meeting at which we presented to them our idea of television's organization. It was favorably received, and all the colleagues from the television centers said was: Why so late? We should not make the mistake that I think the Workers Publishing Cooperative Liquidation Commission almost made when breaking up the cooperative's distribution system. There are certain institutions which ought to remain intact. State television is one of them.

Iliescu's UN Visit Termed 'Full of Dignity'

AU1110120190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1052 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/10/1990—"The Romanian president's visit to New York was, in my opinion, full of dignity and a clear break-away from the diplomatic style and the type of foreign policy characteristic of Romania during the past few decades," pointed out Romania's UN Ambassador Aurel Dragos Munteanu to "DIMINEATA" daily New York correspondent Grigore Traian Pop. "One could not fail to notice the altogether new style of the Romanian president, the contents of his address and especially, the elements of nearness to the United Nations as an organisation necessary for states now in a transition period after revolutionary changes," added the Romanian ambassador.

Referring to the president's meetings with various personalities at the UN General Assembly session, Mr. A.D. Munteanu said they were "of substance" and the president received numerous invitations to visit states in Europe, South America and other parts of the world.

Asked about Romania's contribution to the peaceful settlement of the Gulf conflict, through her UN permanent representative, Ambassador Munteanu specified that the most important feature of Romania's position was her impartiality, recognised by everybody, Iraq included. "We tried to negotiate bearing in mind the interests of all the states involved in the process," underlined the Romanian ambassador.

Answering the question on how much Romania's position in the Gulf crisis will cost her, Mr. Munteanu said he was confident Romania, like other states seriously affected by the sanctions against Iraq, would receive compensations.

IMF Director General Camdessus, Officials Visit

Meet With Prime Minister

AU0910200790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1924 GMT 9 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/10/1990—Tuesday, Premier Petre Roman received Michel Camdessus, director general of the International Monetary Fund, and Godard Posthumus, IMF executive director, now on a visit to Romania at the invitation of the Romanian Government.

During the interview the Romanian premier set forth the programme of reforms for the passage to the market economy and expressed Romania's wish to intensify its relations with the International Monetary Fund. In that context a survey was made of the modalities through which the IMF can grant technical and financial assistance to Romania to help it implement its economic and social reforms. Questions were approached posed to the Romanian economy by the Gulf crisis, its impact on the country's balance of payments.

The interview was attended by Adrian Severin, minister adviser to the prime minister for reform and the relationship with the Parliament, Teodor Stolojan, minister of finance, and Mugur Isorescu, governor of the National Bank.

In a statement made at the end of the interview Mr. Michel Camdessus said that he discussed with the Romanian premier about Romania's prospects and the difficulties confronting it. He also said that the IMF was resolved to help Romania over this period of transition. He stated that he could see for himself that Romania had a comprehensive and bold programme of economic reforms. At the same time he expressed the determination to persuade the international financial community that Romania deserved to be helped.

In his turn Mr. Godard Posthumus stated that a new history of Romania's relations with the IMF started showing that he saw a very good cooperation between them.

Camdessus Meets Press

AU1010184890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1616 GMT 10 Oct 90

["IMF Director General: 'The Most Important Thing Is the Effort of the People Themselves'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/10/1990—At a press conference before leaving Bucharest today, IMF Director General Michel Camdessus, said: "Yours is a weakened economy that is trying to pass to a market economy. It is a difficult process, because everything must be changed at a time. And this is not possible from one day to another, and yet, one must act fast, because as long as the prerequisites of a market economy fail to be met, the market economy will not yield the positive effects it is expected to.

"I think your government is right to launch a reform programme of capital importance which is now submitted to the parliament".

Among the conditions sine-qua-non for our economic progress, the guest quoted: "A change of all structures, so that all enterprises could freely produce for the market, so that the economy opens to the international competition, so that the National Bank could promote a monetary policy apt to combat inflation, so that all changes are operated in good order, without causing economic and budgetary imbalance which might obstruct the reform programme".

Speaking about the experience of the fund in transitional processes, the director general explained why Romania's case is more difficult than that of other former communist bloc countries: "... Due to the crisis of the Comecon [CEMA], which implies your obligation to pay for your crude imports in hard currency and then there is the Gulf crisis which makes oil prices grow".

As to how the IMF can assist Romania in this difficult undertaking, Mr. Camdessus said: "Together with your government, we have worked out a technical assistance scheme, according to which, in about a fortnight several teams of IMF experts will come to Romania to help you establish your monetary and budget policies, the criteria of your external exchanges in such a way as to enable a faster transition of the country to a market economy." The director general pleaded for this stressing that the "cultural level of Romania is very good and therefore everything can be done fast."

The fund's further step regarding Romania is "to review, together with the Romanian Government, the reform programme it intends to adopt and submit to Parliament, so that we can propose to the international community to sustain it. We can contribute with our own financing and play the role of a catalyst, that is persuade Romania's friends, the international community, the EEC to send in complementary financial aid."

A recurrent idea in the IMF director general's statement was that, "no matter how important the assistance of the international community may be, the essential thing is the effort of the people themselves.... Now that they got rid of dictatorship, they find it difficult to make even greater effort than before...

"But, the greater the effort, the sooner you will enjoy prosperity ... and ...I hope everybody in Romania will understand that this is no longer the time of demagogy, it is the time for effort," which requires courage and determination.

'Constructive Dialogue' With Bulgaria Favored

AU1110122090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0914 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 11/10/1990—Romania's Parliament is in favour of continuing the constructive dialogue between the two countries in view of seeking out the best ways to settle matters of mutual interest, with a view to strengthening good neighbourliness and the traditional understanding between our peoples, shows the Romanian Parliament in its reply to the appeal of the Bulgarian Constituant Assembly.

We fully share the idea that "the ecological dossier" of our frontier zones can only be settled through the resolution of complex economic and social problems, through keeping the population in the two countries abreast with them and with the efforts required by their settlement, the reply of the Romanian Parliament reads.

Prompted by the wish to seek out mutually acceptable solutions to improve the ecological situation of the Giurgiu-Ruse zone, the Romanian authorities have already stopped the operation of certain productive installations of the Giurgiu chemical combine.

It is however necessary to objectively analyze the ecological problems of the respective zone, which requires the extension of the investigation to the sources of pollution of Ruse town, which cannot be blamed only on the chemical combine in Giurgiu. As a matter of fact, the report of a joint expert commission records the existence of several economic units in the zone of Ruse town which directly add to the pollution.

Besides, we think it absolutely necessary that all aspects of pollution be analyzed with good will and responsibility, all its sources be investigated, including the radioactive ones, as well as the real risk entailed for the population of both countries by the nuclear installations at Kozlodui and Belene in their present condition.

It is also necessary that the population, public opinion in the two countries be given objective information of the complex nature of the ecological situation in the frontier zones and of the measures being taken for its improvement, so as to create the climate of understanding and cooperativeness apt to help settling the extant issues.

In consideration of the above, the Romanian Parliament agrees to expert investigations being performed by joint commissions in the enterprises in the frontier zone, which are sources of pollution of any kind and, if necessary, we should agree to inviting international organizations that should guarantee the objectiveness of the measurement.

Romania's Parliament speaks up for the negotiation and signing of a convention to establish duties of both parties as regards the way of settlement of the problems generated by all sources of pollution in the frontier zone or near it.

Coposu Leaves for Political Convention in London

AU1010161690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1507 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/10/1990—Upon the invitation of Great Britain's Conservative Party, Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Christian Democtatic Peasants Party, left for London Wednesday 10 October. He will attend the party's convention in Bournemouth.

Reportage on Interior Minister's Visit to Austria

WA1110133990

For reportage on the visit by Interior Minister Doru Viorel Ursu to Vienna, Austria, including reports on his talks with Austrian Interior Minister Franz Loeschnak on the issue of Romanian refugees, please see the Austria section of the 10 October West Europe DAILY REPORT.

Iliescu Meets Political Party Leaders

AU1010205690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1939 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/10/1990—Wednesday, President Ion Iliescu met with leaders of the major political parties and of parliamentary groups. On the occasion the president informed them about the activity of the delegation that represented Romania to the World Summit for Children and to the 45th UN General Assembly session.

The interview occasioned an exchange of opinions between the president and the leaders of the political groups on the topical aspects of the internal situation.

Iliescu Statement on Meeting

AU1010213890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Statement by President Ion Iliescu after meeting with leaders of major political parties in Bucharest on 10 October—recorded]

[Text] We just had this meeting, after my return from New York. The discussion dealt with two subjects. I gave a briefing on, and presented several conclusions drawn from my participation in the two great international meetings in New York—the World Summit for Children, and the UN General Assembly session—my meetings with various heads of state, and my talks with representatives of political and business life in the United States and of Romanians who emigrated. This was the first subject we discussed—that is, I emphasized a few conclusions drawn from my contacts there. The second aspect of this meeting was an exchange of views on the country's topical problems, including the difficulties we are currently facing in social and economic life, and the problems which will emerge—and are already emerging—in the transition to the market economy.

This morning, the government—as a matter of fact, we already discussed this issue a month ago—presented a briefing on current problems and on the plan for public supplies of foodstuffs, energy, and fuel for the autumn and winter period. Next week, the prime minister will brief Parliament on the economic reform program, which will contain more concrete details than the governmental program presented on inauguration. This new program should define the entire framework of the economic reform; furthermore, the program should include the entire package of bills that will be submitted to Parliament, and that will give the general picture of all the measures to be taken at the level of all economic units and agents. This is the core of the laws already voted on by Parliament—the bill on trade companies is still being debated by the Senate. This program should deal with the reform of the tax, banking, price, and remuneration systems, as well as with various other social aspects such as the problem of trade union activities, strikes, social assistance to the less privileged strata, and so forth—that is, with the whole set of legislative measures and practical activities for supporting this reform program.

We had an active exchange of views on these problems. All representatives of the political groups presented their views on the foreign and domestic matters discussed. I asked them to concretely deal with these issues in Parliament, especially with the governmental program on economic activity that will be outlined in the report by the head of government.

On this occasion, I made an appeal to the political leaders, in view of what I saw abroad—that is, our image beyond the borders. This appeal was also made in light of some reproaches by various businessmen with whom I met, and of other opinions made by representatives of our emigrees regarding the working climate and the general climate in Romania, which should ensure an appropriate framework for a normal development of economic activity. Some businessmen told us that we must clearly tell all those employed in economic activities that a market economy means work—quality work—a spirit of responsibility, and of social and working discipline. No one should work under the illusion that the simple slogan of the market economy or that worshipping the concept of privatization will solve all problems related to the country's and society's economic prosperity. Prosperity can only be achieved through work and effort.

We must make great efforts to overcome current difficulties. In this respect, we must ensure an appropriate atmosphere of trust and must overcome the current tensions which are nurtured by many emotions and suspicions and by our public pronouncements.

Consequently, we exchanged views on a large number of problems regarding our current situation. All of us valued the usefulness of such exchanges and of this framework for consultations. The idea was advanced—maybe we will adopt it—to somehow institutionalize and make permanent this framework for periodic meetings between the president and the heads of parties and parliamentary factions, as an institution of our permanent activity and of multiparty dialogue among all political factors and organizations.

More on Meeting

AU1110141590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1209 GMT 11 Oct 90

["Statements-Interviews: Meeting the President of Romania—an Initiative That Augurs Well"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/10/1990—President Ion Iliescu met Wednesday with leaders of the major political parties and parliamentary groups.

During the meeting the president drew a few conclusions from the two big events he attended in New York—the World Summit for Children and the opening of the UN

General Assembly session—and from the talks he had with heads of states, U.S. politicians and businessmen, and Romanian emigrants, then opinions were exchanged on Romania's current problems—economic as well as social—compounded by this year's drought. Industrial activities were considered, the labour climate and the problems arising from the passage to the market economy.

The partners to the dialogue, the president showed in a statement, assessed as positive the activity of the Romanian delegation in New York and that of the Romanian parliamentary delegations to Strasbourg and Innsbruck, all three actions having been judged as both necessary and useful. They contributed to a clearer picture of what we are, of what we do and of what the Romanian society is now, with its good and bad sides seen not only from the angle of the government, but also of the opposition, the president of Romania said.

Speaking about that meeting, Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party said that what Mr. Iliescu had told them was interesting and useful, but that the present was beset by difficulties. I would call them normal, he said. The president, he went on, could see how low Romania's prestige is which is something we have known for some time. The only solution, I said, is to admit it and assume responsibility.

Speaking about the same meeting, Mr. Toma George Maiorescu, president of the Ecological Movement of Romania, said the dialogue between the presidency and the political parties represented in Parliament was an initiative that augured well. And so was the diplomatic drive launched to change the world's image of Romania to make truth known, and to promote openness.

Roman Seen Involving Himself in Small Details

AU0910124690 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 2 Oct 90 p 4

[Viorel Stirbu article: "Nothing New Under the Sun"]

[Text] In some short clips broadcast on television a few days ago we saw that Prime Minister Roman appeared to be upset, and we heard him complaining about the slow rate at which the government decisions are being implemented. The prime minister even said that because corruption is so rampant, the free initiative is being stifled in an alarming way. We all know that this is the way things are and we are glad that our ministers also know it. We are saddened, however, by the fact that there are still no solutions in sight which could pull the reform out of stagnation. This does not mean that there are no such solutions; they are too obvious and the leadership is avoiding the simple and direct solutions. The prefects and mayors are appointed by the government. If they do not fulfill their duties, they have to be replaced; furthermore, the reason why they are hampering the measures upon which the central department has decided must be examined. These reasons might be incompetence, unwillingness to cooperate with the government, or sabotage of government activity. It is important that the prime minister also let us hear part of his dissatisfaction. This is only the positive part of it. We can remember, however, that N. Ceausescu also had the habit of telling the truth from time to time in such a way that he would make us say "'poor him'—he would like things to go right, but he is not adequately informed; on top of that, his aides are not fulfilling their duties." In the first place, the quality of any leader, from the lowest to the highest, should include the ability to set up his team of aides. One cannot come up with the excuse of one's subordinates' incompetence because they—incompetent or ill-willed—can be transferred to jobs where they know the work. It was also N. Ceausescu who had the habit of going to certain sectors of great interest from time to time and replacing some low-level directors here and there—low-level chiefs, after all—an action which did not affect the situation at all (come to think of it, he even used to 'rotate' cadres at the top, and still nothing changed!). Although Prime Minister Roman also decided to fire a few directors, we still think that such methods should be changed. One does not convene a government meeting to fire the head of a local commercial unit. He should have been fired by his immediate supervisors, and such a problem should only reach the government when it has already been solved, or not reach it at all! There are some counties in this country which complain about their prefects, but the government pretends not to hear. In such a situation, we should not be surprised if the prime minister ends up fulfilling the duties of a small town mayor.

Democratic Party Suspends Leader, Cancels Merger

AU0710153090 Bucharest VIITORUL in Romanian 2 Oct 90 p 4

[Text]Communique:

On 17 September 1990 the Cluj Territorial Circle of the Democratic Party held a meeting which decided:

—To suspend Mr. Virgil Andrei Vita from the leadership of the Democratic Party
—To cancel the merger with the National Liberal Party-Youth Wing;
—To convene the party's national conference for 1 October 1990 at 1700 [1500 GMT];

These decisions were made after an analysis of the situation prevailing within the Cluj Democratic Party. It was pointed out that Mr. Virgil Andrei Vita's nondemocratic practices, his refusal to take a public stand in favor of democracy, his abusive decision to exclude some party members (without the approval of the general meeting of party members and in their absence), his decision to involve the party in such actions as the merger with a newly formed party without consultation with the party's members, his acceptance of tasks from the National Salvation Front without previous consultation with the party, thus violating the idea of the party's

independence, causing political damage to the party, and committing financial abuses which affected the party's funds.

The Democratic Party is geared toward meeting some real needs in the specific context of Romania's political life and intends to make its appropriate contribution as an independent group, something which requires the maintenance and improvement of its activity.

No decision affecting the present and future statuses of the Democratic Party can be adopted without consultation with and approval of this party's members.

We believe that the Democratic Party should independently carry out its current activity to the benefit of all, thus contributing to the establishment of real democracy in our country.

The bureau of the Territorial Circle of the Cluj Democratic Party

Students Want Use of Hostels Before Inventory

AU1010125090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1016 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/10/990—Since Monday 8 October all members of the Bucharest Student League Convention have been on strike. The strike was sparked by the failure to solve the Bucharest students accommodation problem which has taken dramatic accents with the passage of time. Monday 8 October, Prime Minister Petre Roman decided that hotels "Cismigiu," "Universal" and "Tranzit" be transferred with all their property from the Department of Tourism to the Ministry of Education and Science, as of 1 November. A representative of the Students' Convention, however, says that the students will only be allowed on the premises after the ministry officials take stock of every property item, which will extend beyond 1 November, and until this is done, every student should manage as best he can. The convention's position is that rooms should be assigned first, and only afterwards should the papers and all formalities be done. Besides, it seems that this government grant will also fail to solve the whole problem the roots of which are to be sought in incompetence and lack of interest.

Munteanu Interview on Students' Problems

AU1110090590 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 6 Oct 90 p 2

[Interview with Marian Munteanu, president of the Students' League of Bucharest University, by Constantin Pavel; place and date not given: "We Do Not Want To Cause Trouble"]

[Text] [Pavel] What actions were promoted by the Students' League during the summer vacation?

[Munteanu] I "spent" part of my vacation in jail; you would be better advised to ask my colleagues about that. Because you asked me, however.... In the 2-3 July period, the league organized the National Students' Congress, which was attended by 32 students' organizations. It organized marches and rallies in favor of the observance of human rights. As early as last June, it entered into contact with responsible factors, including the president of Romania and the minister of the interior, who were briefed about the problems facing the students and the difficulties that will emerge at the beginning of this university year.

[Pavel] A topical "difficulty" right now is accommodation for the students.

[Munteanu] The situation is very complicated. On the one hand, there are many students (some 9,000 last week, according to estimates made by the Bucharest Students' Convention, to which the Student's League of Bucharest University also belongs; tomorrow we will draw up exact statistics) who require accommodation in hostels. If they find no accommodation, they will not be able to attend the courses. The situation worries us, it is desperate. As one must realize, rents are extremely high in Bucharest. Some landlords are even asking to be paid in foreign currency. On the other hand, we know that there are difficulties in the housing construction sector, in general. Because we understood the objective hardships, we decided to cancel the strike and hope to find a solution. We did not ask for comfort, but for minimal conditions, such as a bed for each student to sleep on—but even that could not be achieved.

[Pavel] How did you become involved in solving the problem?

[Munteanu] We contacted the relevant people—primarily the university management—and established contacts with other organizations belonging to the Students' Convention. Everyone, however, complained of accommodation shortages, hence the problem could not be resolved. We talked to our foreign colleagues and tried to convince them that they should help. They have their own claims which should also be taken into consideration. Although housing is a problem which must be solved by the higher education institutions and not by the students' organizations, we supported this action which took into consideration the interests of all students, even though they may not belong to a given organization.

[Pavel] Beyond objective conditions, do you think there are other people reponsible for this situation?

[Munteanu] There is a certain administrative and bureaucratic rigidness to which one should add a lack of firmness, interest, and competence on the part of the government.

[Pavel] What is your position in connection with the university's autonomy?

[Munteanu] Autonomy is very useful; it is essential for Romanian higher education. This is the general opinion

within the convention. We will discuss the draft law and we will come up with proposals. Through its very nature, the university needs its autonomy; it is a space of culture and civilization where the professors and students are forming a university family.

[Pavel] How do you see the social employment of students after graduation?

[Munteanu] This is a hotly debated issue. The basic principle of social employment is competence; there are, however, special cases of a social nature (families, etc.). In a society with a market economy, it is to be expected that not everyone will get the job he would like. There is rivalry, in the positive sense of the word, as competition stimulates and promotes values.

[Pavel] Various events and press reports have shaped a certain image about you. What is the real one?

[Munteanu] I talk to people like everyone else, I come up with arguments, and I try to understand their arguments. When their argument is a certain newspaper article, I suggest to them that they try to learn more from other sources and not to trust everything without questioning, because many lies have been written about me, particularly by the newspapers AZI, ADEVARUL, LIBERTATEA, and DIMINEATA. In concrete terms, I do not have "wealth," nor do I have automobiles and villas. I invite you to visit me and see the attic in which I live. People said that I barely passed my exams from one semester to the next, that I was party secretary or president of the Association of Communist Students, and other stupid things like that. They dared to spread exaggerated lies about me and insult me systematically, without bothering to find out details about me from my place of work or from my professors. I can prove everything I did. I never talked about people out of ignorance, as others did about me or about the Students' League.

[Pavel] If you lived in another country, what would be your first passion?

[Munteanu] The same as here, namely Romanian language and literature. I would strive to make those people love the Romanian language and literature and love and understand the Romanian people.

[Pavel] Do you believe in God?

[Munteanu] Yes.

Report on Students' Protest March in Bucharest

AU1010210190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1926 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/10/1990—Wednesday [10 October] afternoon a march of protest was staged in Bucharest by the League of the Polytechnic Institute Students to support the liberation of student Ciprian Geroianu and of the other students arrested during the February 18 and June 13-15 events.

No incidents have been reported.

A delegation of the several tens of students participant in the march sent two motions of protest to the Ministry of Justice and to the government.

Nicu Ceausescu To Be Tried for Embezzlement

AU1010184690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1633 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/10/1990—The Sibiu County Prosecutor's Office sent to court Nicu Ceausescu, ex-first secretary of the Sibiu County RCP [Romanian Communist Party] Committee on embezzlement charges, and Ioan Dan, head of the former Sibiu Party Committee's Property Management Division, and Eugen Hategan, its then chief accountant, on charges of forgery and embezzlement.

The defendants are accused to have embezzled 433,929 lei in food and alcoholic drinks that had been consumed at the guests' houses owned by the former County Party Committee.

The Sibiu court set the trial of the case for 29 October 1990.

Hospital Director on Treatment for AIDS Children

AU1110115390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0852 GMT 11 Oct 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 11/10/1990—Speaking about the treatment of AIDS in children, Dr. Adrian Streinu-Cercel, director of Bucharest's "Colentina" Hospital said in an interview with the daily "ADEVARUL" that, unfortunately the AZT drug sold by the "Welcome" company is not available in Romania. Thirteen Romanian children were experimentally given another medicine "FLV 23-a" by a team of eight doctors, members of the International Foundation for Medical Research, headed by the British Doctor David Hughes, Dr. Adrian Streinu-Cercel said.

Referring to the protests in the "THE EUROPEAN" weekly against the use of that medicine, Dr. Adrian Streinu-Cercel specified: This medicine has been approved by the National Medicine Commission, after it was proved to have zero degree toxicity. Thus, of the thirteen children tested, an improvement in the health condition of four was reported, two of whom were feeling well, in seven children no change was detected and two died. The "Colentina" Hospital director is of the opinion one explanation for the protests may be sought in the rivalry of the two drug manufacturing companies. Dr. Nicolae Beldescu, director of the Department of Infectious Diseases in the Ministry of Health considers as ill-willing the assertions in "THE EUROPEAN" magazine, according to which the children on which FLV-23-a tests are made are guinea-pigs.

948 AIDS cases are reported in Romania, 884 of which are children, according to an August statistics.

* Youth Paper Protests Cuts in Pages

90BA0334A Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 19 Sep 90 p 1

[Editorial: "With One Foot in the Grave!"]

[Text] Today's issue appeared—actually, we did not even have to say it because it is visible to the naked eye—in only two pages. We already had a similar paper in the first days of the Revolution. That was the newspaper of the youth on the barricades, one we edited under the bullets. Difficulties did not matter in those conditions and we did not mind bringing out a newspaper that looked like a flier. But it has been nine months since then. During this time we have tried to experience at least a feeling of normalcy and to believe that after the revolution nothing could prevent us—unless it was inertia at times—from making real journalism and that no one would dare curtail the democratic rights that we won for ourselves at some risk—or at least so we thought—during those bloody days of December. We did not become unduly alarmed even when our issues began to be arbitrarily shortened because of some "objective" reasons, not when the number of pages was cut and newsprint became more expensive, nor when our weekly supplement became a biweekly, nor even when the Post Office refused to renew subscriptions to TINERETUL LIBER. Like most Romanians, we understood that the country was going through a difficult period, that hundreds upon hundreds of new publications appeared in the meantime, and that they, too, had a right to a place in the sun and a newsprint ration.

But what is happening now is no longer either normal or, we dare say it, correct. Our newspaper has been forced to appear before its own readers humbly, in a pitiful condition, in only two pages, not because of slacking public interest or poor editorial performance, but for reasons that are both simple and fritghtfully concrete: We have no paper. Although the Free Press Publishing House that is our administrator has firm contracts with the suppliers, although there is a system of allocations, and although carloads of paper rolls have been arriving in Bucharest. But these rolls of newsprint apparently disappeared most mysteriously. We have learned from reliable sources that the main supplier, the Letea enterprise of Bacau, supplied 259 tons of paper between 13-17 September. From the same sources we learned that 82 tons went directly to ADEVARUL's printing house and were stored somewhere outside the Bucharest Polygraphic Combine. If we consider that the Bucharest dailies use 80 tons a day—in normal conditions—then it is easy to see that the former party newspaper continues to view itself—on what basis?—as the country's premier newspaper, arbitrarily appropriating the lion's share—with whose help?—from the little paper earmarked for the "competition." Against this background and in view of the fact that the Letea enterprise had some problems with securing raw materials—or so we were told—a deadly hiatus appeared in the supplier-user chain, whose first victim was our today's issue. We called the government, where our alarm signal was received with surprise because normally, we were told, there should be enough newsprint. It seems that the government has already taken some steps, but if there is nevertheless a crisis, it has allegedly nothing to do with the government. Until the contrary is proven we have no reason to doubt the truth of this report. Also, we think is would be absurd to ask the government to personally take care of our newsprint supplies. The government cannot be held responsible for everything bad that happens in this country, but as the general administrator of the society it should take a closer look at this deceptively minor sector which could cause it all kinds of superfluous unpleasantness. Because in the conditions prevailing in our country, the economic problems of the press can easily be traansferred to the political realm, and more than a few people may be tempted to view this as a disguised attempt to shut the mouth of a press that has already been taking too many liberties lately. We (still) do not think that is the case and we hope that we will be able to continue to appear at least in minimally normal conditions. In other words, that we will continue to have the newsprint necessary for our existence. Because, we must add, willy-nilly we are still not a private newspaper that can diversify its domestic or foreign suppliers as dictated by its own interests. If anyone in this country does not want us to appear anymore, let them say so openly, or rather directly to our hundreds of thousands of readers. We will end here in the hope that tomorrow we will be able to return at least to our modest four-page format and that, good or bad, we will continue meeting with unvarnished honesty with all those who expect us and have some faith in us.

* Mazilu Report on Human Rights Called 'Bluff'

90BA0305C Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 31 Aug 90 p 1

[Constantin Radulescu article: "Mazilu's Bluff"]

[Text] Mr. Mazilu, who seemed to have disappeared from sight, has once again resurfaced. And once again, the "man of surprises," has pulled out a marked card from the deep recesses of his sleeve. We learned about it at the usual press conference of the Foreign Ministry spokesman who, among other things, announced a series of revealing details about the so-called Human Rights Report concerning Romania, allegedly presented a few days ago by the above mentioned Mr. Mazilu at the U.N. Headquarters in Geneva. These details contribute to rounding up the profile of a person whose ill repute has won him a place in Madame Tussaud's Wax Museum.

The truth is that Mr. Mazilu, as a speaker of the ECOSOC Human Rights Subcommission in charge of preventing discrimination and protecting minorities, recently completed a report on human and youth rights, which bore the date of 8 August and was presented on 29 August. Note that the report did not refer to any specific country but, stressing that in accordance with its mission, its scope covered "new developments and current

requirements for ensuring the most appropriate status possible for youth throughout the world" (to cite the author of the report himself), presented things in general. Romania is not mentioned even once throughout the 22 pages of this document; the various chapters of the report consist of global statements, such as some concerning the youth as a major element of the struggle to change the world and restore democracy, or the measures required to promote the rights and freedoms of the new generation.

However, aside from this report, which he was appointed by the United Nations to compile, Mr. Mazilu took upon himself to present a separate report dealing with human rights in Romania, which revolved almost exclusively around the events that took place in Bucharest in the first half of June. Our newspaper reproduced segments of this so-called report (see ADEVARUL No. 207 of 29 August), which in reality is nothing but a compilation of insults and gross distortions presented in an almost pathological style. This so-called report was not requested by any UN organization, consequently it has no official status (as it was claimed in some of our newspapers), which is why it was not circulated as a UN document. Moreover, it violated certain specific recommendations of the United Nations, which tasked Mr. Joseph Voyame, who happens to be in our country right now, with reporting on the human rights situation in Romania. Mr. Voyame has made many contacts and will return to Romania in November to finalize his conclusions, which will then be presented in Geneva in February 1991.

In other words, Mr. Mazilu's so-called report on the human rights in Romania is simply a bluff. We repeat, no one asked him to do it at the United Nations. It should come as no surprise to us that Mr. Mazilu, who in January became famous by climbing on top of a tank and shouting hysterically: "A death for a death!" is now engaging in a similar game, this time using the podium of a UN institution.

What credibility can be given to his irresponsible assertions at the UN Palace in Geneva when in the introduction to his official report (page 1 paragraph 6) Mr. Mazilu, posing as a hero, spoke about his "five years of imprisonment?" We don't know whether he managed to fool anyone in the audience, but here, in Romania, everyone knows that those five years of imprisonment were, if not five hours, certainly not more than 24! Equally notorious is the fact that his "dissidence" began simultaneously with the discovery of the fake documents by which five years ago he fraudulently tried to get himself accredited as a UN international functionary with the help of some false signatures.

He is still possessed by the same obsession. Thus, at the time he presented his (oficial) report in Geneva, Mr. Mazilu, claiming that additional documentation was required to study the situation of youth rights in countries like China, North Korea, and Cuba, he requested—and obtained—a one year extension of his mandate. And of course, of his respectable salary as an international functionary.

Can there still be any doubt as to the motive for the "humanitarian" zeal of this "professional revolutionary"? The bluff is obvious to everyone.

Presidency Examines Proposals on Future Order

LD1110085290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—At a session today chaired by President Borisav Jovic, the SFRY Presidency considered proposals on the future order in Yugoslavia. The presidents of the republican and provincial presidencies, as well as the Federal Executive Council president, took part in the work of the session.

The session concluded that the ideas considered on the future order in Yugoslavia should be developed further on the basis of the proposals and suggestions put forward at the session, as well as additional proposals which the SFRY Presidency will receive later on from republics and autonomous provinces. On the basis of this, the SFRY Presidency will at the next session adopt final stands on this issue and inform the SFRY Assembly of them.

In the second half of the session, the SFRY Presidency went on to consider other issues within its responsibilities.

Deems Kosovo Situation 'Complex'

LD1110090290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—In the second half of today's session, the SFRY Presidency considered the current security situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, according to a statement from the session. The session was attended by the presidents of the Presidencies of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, as well as the Federal Executive Council president and officials of relevant federal secretariats, among others.

The SFRY Presidency, the statement asserts, noted that the security situation in Kosovo is difficult and complex and must be resolved thoroughly. It was stressed that the main cause of the situation and obstacle to its resolution is a secessionist movement in Kosovo, which has as its goal the secession of Kosovo from Serbia and, thereby, from Yugoslavia. Likewise, it has been pointed out that the SFRY Presidency will resolutely oppose any policy and concrete activities aimed at proclaiming Kosovo a republic, because such a proclamation is contrary to the SFRY Constitution and, moreover, at odds with vital interests of the members of the Albanian nationality. Until secessionist efforts to separate Kosovo from Serbia are foiled, the search for solutions to this and all other issues in the province—such as economic development, education, health care, and others—will be hampered.

The SFRY Presidency has reiterated that there is no way out of the current situation without a greater degree of unity in Yugoslavia. In this context, the SFRY Presidency has especially stressed that all competent bodies must adhere strictly to the law, cooperate, and energetically prevent all actions endangering the constiutional order in and the territorial integrity of our country, the statement from the second half of the SFRY Presidency meeting concludes.

Mesic Considers Confederation 'Fait Accompli'

AU0710220190 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 28 Sep 90 p 5

[Davor Ivankovic report on interview with Stipe Mesic, SFRY Presidency member, by unidentifed moderator on the second program of Croatian Radio in Zagreb on 27 September: "Confederation-Fait Accompli"]

[Excerpts] The conclusion of the Draft of the Confederal Treaty which Croatia, in agreement with Slovenia, plans to put forward as a solution to mutual relations in the Yugoslav community, was the topic of yesterday's conversation on the "Common Wavelength" program on Croatia's Radio Two. Stipe Mesic, member of the SFRY Presidency from Croatia, was the program's guest. Mesic answered numerous questions put forward by moderator Miran Salapic and listeners from all over Croatia. VECERNJI LIST publishes a part of this conversation.

[Moderator] How shall we present you, as vice president of the SFRY Presidency, or should we wait until 10 October before we can call you that?

[Mesic] It is not necessary to wait until then since, according to the constitutional provisions, the election of the member of the Presidency is entrusted to each republic's parliament or Assembly. This means that the Assembly elects its member of the Presidency and that this choice is only confirmed in the Federal Assembly. The delegates of the Federal Assembly do not vote or discuss the matter.

[Moderator] Events have developed in such a way that, in contrast to six months ago, a confederation is now a fait accompli. Many things must have happened that the public does not know about.

[Mesic] A confederation is a fait accompli as far as we and the Slovenes are concerned. We think that the best model for our cohabitation is a union of sovereign republics on the territory of southern Slavs. Earlier we said that the name of this union was not important, that it was important that this be a union and that sovereign republics reach an agreement or pact on the future cohabitation. We have already made further progress and call this union a confederation. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] According to what Borisav Jovic [president of the SFRY Presidency] is saying, it appears that Croatia ought to exist in the form which suits the Serbian leadership. Can Serbia prevent the advance of democracy in Croatia? It also appears that Stipe Mesic's presence in the Presidency does not suit Jovic.

[Mesic] Whether I suit somebody in the SFRY Presidency or not, is their personal consideration. It suits the Croatian Assembly that I am a member of the Presidency and this is how it voted. Everybody has the right to be

angry with things they cannot influence. How we are going to be organized in Croatia also depends on total relations in Yugoslavia, because, as you can see, one question is continuously popping up: "If we retain the federation, the borders of our republics and provinces will stay as they are. If we opt for a confederation, then we will have to discuss borders. What certain republics entered this new state with in 1918, they should be able to take out of it, under the condition that Serbs cannot stay in several different states." I would only like to say that other people should also enjoy this privilege. In this case the Croats could not remain in different states either, nor could the Muslims. Then, there is the problem of Sandzak, Vojvodina, and so forth. Therefore, I think that the most prudent thing would be that we leave all peoples and all individuals as equal within the framework of the existing borders. [passage omitted]

3d Day of Kicevo Rallies Protest Police Presence

LD1010203990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1617 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Kicevo, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—About five thousand citizens of the Macedonian city of Kicevo rallied this afternoon outside the city Assembly building in protest against the presence of republican policy in the city.

This is the third protest rally in the past three days. Citizens are protesting against the Macedonian Government decision to have the police guard the distribution system of the regional waterworks, the Studenica, which provides water for the cities Prilep, Krusevo, and Makedonski Brod.

The citizens of Kicevo refused to allow water to be directed to some neighbouring cities, claiming that they did not have enough themselves.

Yugoslav State Presidency member from Macedonia Dr Vasil Tupurkovski today sent a letter to the protesters, appealing to them not to stage mass rallies but to process their protests to the municipal authorities through regular channels.

The munícipal government session today assessed that the political-security situation in the city was very critical with a possible escalation which might be impossible to control.

A general strike has been scheduled for today in Kicevo. The strikers demand that the police are called back and that charges brought against some participants in an October 7 protest rally are dropped. The citizens were charged after police intervened against the villagers of Dobrenoec who tried to close off the distribution system of the regional waterworks which is in this village.

10,000 Said Assembled on 10 Oct

LD1010204390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1918 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Kicevo, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—About ten thousand citizens of the Macedonian town of Kicevo and surrounding villages assembled this evening in the village of Gornji Dobrinlec, near the distribution system of the "Studenica" regional waterworks, which is guarded by several hundred members of the republican police.

This is today's second mass assembly in Kicevo. The first took place this afternoon, when about five thousand people rallied before the communal assembly building to protest over the presence of the republican police and the misdemeanour charges brought against some participants in the rally on October 7 who clashed with policemen in the village of Dobrinlec.

The police units took up positions around the waterworks' distribution system three days ago on the basis of a decision of the Macedonian Government on the protection of the waterworks, which, besides Kicevo, also provides water for the towns of Prilep, Krusevo and Makedonski Brod.

The decision was made after Krusevites cut off water supplies to the other towns, claiming that they did not have enough for their own use.

Knin Assembly Subject to Financial Blockade

LD1110080290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1258 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Knin, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—A financial blockade has been imposed on the municipal Assembly of Knin, as it has not received its regular extra funds from the republican budget, Nebojsa Mladinic, president of the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Knin Municipality, said today in talks with members of the federal chamber's working group for internal policies.

As a result of the blockade teachers will probably not received their pay and the situation in the health and social insurance services is also becoming critical. In Mladinic's words, "INA [Croatia's largest oil company] has been banned from supplying Knin with fuel." At the nearest INA gasoline station—in Drnis—drivers are allegedly being asked to produce their ID's so those from Knin cannot buy fuel.

The president of the Chamber of Associated Labor of the Knin Municipality also says its work organizations have been financially blocked, while the Social Accountancy Service of Croatia has blocked the Nikola Test Fund.

Gas Arriving From Novi Sad

LD1110091790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1314 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Knin, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—Today gasoline in Knin and Kistanje received 50 tons of fuel from the Naftagas of Novi Sad, Radio Knin announced this afternoon.

According to this radio report, INA in Zagreb sent a message yesterday "that Knin cannot get fuel until further notice."

According to Radio Knin's news bulletin this afternoon, several more tankers from Novi Sad carrying gasoline and diesel fuel are on their way to Knin.

Croatian Mayors Urge Serbians To Return Arms

LD1110035190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1942 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Gospic, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—Croatian Assembly official Slavko Degoricija said here on Wednesday [10 October] that he was no longer optimistic about the situation in the Lika region, populated largely by Serbs, because it has not improved but "has probably even deteriorated."

Assistant head of the police in Gospic Josip Bulog expressed concern today over the situation in the Lika communes of Gracac, Donji Lapac and Titova Korenica, and added that it would no longer be tolerated.

The mayors of 22 towns—assembled in Split, central Adriatic coast—on Wednesday asked Serbs to return at once the arms they had taken from police stations, and to remove the barricades put up on roads and railway tracks.

The Serbian population was urged to stand "shoulder to shoulder" with other citizens of Croatia so that a road to Europe could be opened through a democratic dialogue.

The mayors of Knin and Benkovac, towns predominantly populated by Serbs, did not attend the meeting.

Croatian, Assembly Officials Call For Dialogue

LD1110050190 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1524 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Knin, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—A dialogue between the Croatian leadership and the leaders of the Serbian minority population is the only route to a peaceful settlement of the inter-nationality tension in Knin, it was assessed today at a meeting of representatives of the town (situated in the Republic of Croatia) and a working group of the Yugoslav Assembly. [passage omitted]

Croat Events Result From Leaders' Arrogance

AU1110084390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Oct 90 p 1

[Slavko Curuvija commentary: "Unfounded Arrogance"]

[Text] In Banija and the Knin region, events have (again) happened that even the most perverse minds could not have imagined: special militia units, blockades, armed and rebellious civilians, house searches, fleeing men, women, and children, civilians pushing their way into Yugoslav People's Army barracks, militiamen wounded, food in short supply, trains stopped, tear gas, baton charges, arrests.... Croatia's "underbelly" is boiling.

There is no more doubt about it: Croatia is in a "state of siege." What happened to this idyllic and "silent" republic, and who is to blame?

The answer is complicated as hell, but for this occasion, with all the risk this entails, it could be reduced to a single sentence: Croatia is split by polarization and irrationality, and the main culprit is the unfounded, gambling, irresponsible...arrogance of current Croatian and Serbian leaders in their attempts to formulate their national (Croatian) sovereignty on the one hand, and to demonstrate their national (Serbian) position in Croatia on the other.

At an elementary level, both are right. It is quite legitimate to strive to constitute one's own (Croatian) nation state, even though all the others have not yet done so or are not doing so. It is legitimate, however, that the Serbs within such a national Croatia should seek and find their own place. The conflict arises with the clash of the two concepts of this legitimacy and the manner of achieving it. The Croatian leadership erroneously believes that it can paint Croatia with its national colors, ignoring the fact that the Serbs in Croatia claim the right to at least a part of the Croatian national flag, anthem, and constitution. The Serbian leadership in Croatia unjustly appropriates the spirit of Yugoslavism in Croatia, pushes it up the Croats' noses, and claims the right to subject the current Croatian legal state to ridicule in an anachronous and illegitimate way.

The new Croatian authority is perhaps undemocratic—although it has been elected in a democratic manner—but nobody has the right to overthrow it with brute force and rebellion, unless he has the intention to wage war against it. The frightened Serbs should certainly not dispute the right of the "Croatian constabulary" to move their weapons in the republic, but this constabulary also risks too much when it occurs to it to move (again) the Serbs along at the point of a gun.

One has gone (too) far in partiality in Croatia. Probably one should stop before the people succumb to another delirium, and should go back to where it has all started.

Kucan Cited on Confederation Talks With Tudjman

AU1010140290 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Oct 90 p 3

[Jana Taskar report: "Only an Independent Slovenia or a Confederate Union"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 Oct—Milan Kucan, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia, has made a special statement to DELO regarding his meeting with the Croatian leadership last night [2 October].

"The reason Mr. Tudjman and I met in Zagreb yesterday was the obligation that we assumed at a SFRY Presidency session in Belgrade to prepare together a model, that is, a proposal for a possible confederal rearrangement of Yugoslavia, taking into consideration our views about Yugoslavia's future, which are mostly similar. We have always insisted that the setup of our republic should be a confederate one, and—since the Croats have made the same decision—the Croatian Republic, too, within Yugoslavia, if there is no will, readiness, interest, or possibility to have the whole of Yugoslavia set up in the future as confederation. The meeting had been agreed before Mr. Tudjman left for the United States. Although this all coincided with the latest events, these did not have an essential impact on the content of the meeting," Kucan said.

"The talks mainly concerned the decision about the form in which we would send the document to Belgrade and the other republics, whether we should publicize it, and when that should be done. It was agreed that, as our assembly decided at its latest meeting, the document could be publicized only as a theoretical model for a confederate setup drafted on the basis of some general ideas from the past and the existing confederate setups in some states, and also on the basis of what would be in the interest of the majority of Yugoslav republics, if not all of them, and what would be realistically possible to do if one decided in favor of such a kind of mutual relations.

"The present concept of relations in the EEC, that is, the concept on the basis of which the EEC was established, served as the starting point, albeit considering some specificities which make it impossible for us and Croatia—or one might say the whole of Yugoslavia—to live and develop in the way the EEC is now developing. There are still some disagreements and they are going to be coordinated today and tomorrow by a joint group of Croatian and Slovene experts appointed by the two presidencies. The text will be published as a joint document in the Saturday issues of the dailies," Milan Kucan said.

"In this way we shall fulfill our obligation," he added, "and it will be completely clear from the document that what is involved is a constructive contribution on the part of our two republics. This seems to me to be particularly important, because our two republics were at first accused of breaking up the Yugoslav community. I would like to say that what is involved is not an a priori desire to break up Yugoslavia, but the realization that Yugoslavia, as it has been functioning in practice during the past year, makes it no longer possible for the crisis to be solved or for individual Yugoslav peoples and republics to develop. One should therefore examine whether it is possible to find some other basis for arranging the way the people live in their national states without excluding any possibility that this principle entails.

"As regards Slovenia, it is clear that realistic possibilities are either an independent Slovenia or a confederate union with others. The key and basic task here is certainly to secure Slovenia's sovereignty and independence on the basis of its own constitution and with the help of it.

"The talks in Zagreb also touched upon Mr. Tudjman's trip to the United States and his experience there. It has been shown during the talks that there are differences between Mr. Tudjman and Presidency President Dr. Jovic in assessing the visit to the United States, and there have also been some differences in interpreting American positions and views about Yugoslavia, our situation, and our future. This is important for all of us. The impression I gained from reading about these statements in the press is that the essence of the statements that the most important people in the United States made about Yugoslavia is that they are interested in Yugoslavia's integrity, but only if it is the result of a democratic agreement among all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities, and that they would respect such an agreement and take it as a fact."

When asked whether the talks in Zagreb were burdened by the fact that at that time the session of the federal Presidency was already under way in Belgrade, Milan Kucan said the following: "I would not say that the Belgrade session burdened the talks in particular. After all, it is difficult to say what is normal and what is abnormal under these circumstances; it almost seems to me that just because of the abnormal circumstances, the atmosphere was normal. True, we both awaited the result of the session, not only because of the decision made at it, but above all because of the fact that the session lasted such a long time. The Presidency decided comparatively quickly about the so-called Slovene position, but nobody expected anything different to happen. However, it is a fact that the SFRY Presidency took quite a long time to decide about the situation in Croatia. This was in fact understandable—interests there are more polarized—so the statement issued after the session, which we learned about by telephone from Dr.Drnovsek and Josip Manolic in fact took nobody by surprise."

Kucan Claims Federation 'Cannot Be Preserved'

LD1110094690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2208 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia cannot be preserved within a federation, especially

within a proposed unitaristic model. This is a sure way of breaking it up, Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene Presidency, concluded this evening on Slovene Television during the "In Focus" program. Kucan was reviewing today's SFRY Presidency session.

Kucan holds that throughout history confederal models have provided only transitional solutions, therefore such a model offers at least a chance for further integration, for coexistence.

Unfortunately, Milan Kucan said, at today's session of the federal Presidency, like before, nothing useful was said for Slovenia, although one could have expected that precisely this topic—that is, what should be done with proposals on the future order in Yugoslavia—would be carried out in a sensible manner and not passionately. I remain an optimist even after today's session, Kucan said, adding that he is more anxious now than he was before the session as the Presidency session revealed that starting points of a report which the Presidency has already sent to the SFRY Assembly because its own proposals on how to solve the current constitutional crisis in Yugoslavia are not treated equally.

The discussion showed—and this worries me—that the crisis is reaching denouement quite rapidly, and it is more or less clear that at least the Serbian authorities want to force a solution before the elections in Serbia, which are heralded for the first half of December. In the process of forcing solutions, they are trying to eliminate Slovenes from an all-Yugoslav discussion by compelling them as soon as possible to secede, Kucan said.

Our confederal concept was not tabled under the supposition that it will be acceptable to all. It is based on the idea that it ought to be acceptable for us and our interests, which are not ideological anymore. Kucan has also assessed that signs of a mood in favor of a confederation are emerging in all republics. I am not disputing anything done in Serbia, but I do not understand a constant negation of everything that Slovenia has done to protect its sovereignty, Milan Kucan stressed this evening on Slovene Television.

Slovenia's Pucnik on Coalition, Defense Occupation

AU0710150790 Vienna KURIER in German 7 Oct 90 p 3

[Interview with Slovene Democratic Alliance President Joze Pucnik by Hans-Henning Scharsach in Ljubljana; date not given: "Slovenia Remains Sovereign Even if it Cooperates With Belgrade!"]

[Text] [Scharsach] How long can your coalition survive?

[Pucnik] Only as long as it takes to implement the most important reform projects. In first place there is the question of sovereignty. In this respect sensible and peaceful regulations have to be found with Yugoslavia; otherwise we risk a civil war.

[Scharsach] The military police are still occupying the command building of the territorial defense. Is this already the beginning of the civil war?

[Pucnik] No, this has been blown up by the media. After it took over territorial defense itself, Slovenia dismissed its former chief. And this man then believed he had to protect the property of the Yugoslav Army. From the juridical point of view, this is even justified.

[Scharsach] The State Presidium ordered the Defense Ministry to ensure the unity of the Armed Forces.

[Pucnik] Do not take this so seriously. There is no way to enforce something like this. Belgrade has been lagging behind the process of disintegration for months. First there are always objections, then things that happened long ago are legalized after the event.

[Scharsach] Thus, the disintegration of Yugoslavia continues?

[Pucnik] It has already happened. Now it is being considered how one should best cooperate. For instance, cooperation between Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia would be something obvious.

[Scharsach] This would mean a division of the country approximately along the border of the former Habsburg empire.

[Pucnik] Yes, there is a quite natural border between the Occident and the Orient. But once again: Slovenia will remain sovereign even if it cooperates.

[Scharsach] It will have its own currency and its own foreign policy?

[Pucnik] Of course. Also its own membership in the United Nations. And at some time independent negotiations with the EC.

[Scharsach] Can civil war be avoided?

[Pucnik] Unfortunately, one cannot rule out a civil war. This is due to the special situation of Serbia. In it there are two rivaling nationalist parties, one more radical than the other. And then there are coordinated media, which are fanning the nationalist euphoria. This is the political soil where readiness for violence is flourishing.

Slovenes Meet Bosnians; To Meet Croatian Leaders

AU0210154690 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 2 Oct 90

[Text] A delegation of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina paid a working visit to Ljubljana today. Attention was centered on the views of the two republican leaderships on the development of the Yugoslav constitutional crisis. After the talks, in which the presidents of the executive councils and of the assemblies of the two republics also took part, Milan Kucan and Obrad

Piljak, presidents of the Presidencies, held a news conference. Sandi Frelih reports:

[Frelih] It was shown again today that it is only with a tolerant, well-argued, and balanced dialogue recognizing differences of opinions that roads may be found for the resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, Milan Kucan said. The way out can be sought on the basis of principled views on the right to self-determination, but this is not helped by attempts to mobilize federal organs so that they act in the interest of one of the republics, which at present is the central reason for the depth of the Yugoslav crisis being so deep.

Milan Kucan said that the way the Army leadership has presented the situation in the country, to the effect that there is a general disorder clamoring for a firm hand, has caused alarm among the people. He added that such alarm is superfluous.

Both Milan Kucan and Obrad Piljak pointed out their common views on the framing of the republican constitutions and on the SFRY Presidency proposal to resolve the crisis, and said that the demand for a confederal position of Slovenia is one of the legitimate proposals. Differences in the views were displayed in the attitudes of the two delegations toward a federation or confederation linked with the situation in the two republics, toward the amendments to the SFRY Constitution, and toward the views on solving the Yugoslav crisis.

The two delegations agreed that in searching for a solution, one cannot insist on regional or ethnic referendums which would then cause changes of internal Yugoslav borders. As many as 36 out of the 38 parties in Bosnia advocate such a solution. Obrad Piljak said that Bosnia is exclusively in favor of a federation of six republics, and that it therefore cannot have a confederation with two republics.

Answering questions by journalists, the leaders of the two delegations stated that they did not discuss the present situation in Croatia. Concerning the session of the SFRY Presidency today, Obrad Piljak said that he did not think that the introduction of a state of emergency would be discussed.

As we have learned, the highest representatives of Slovenia will meet the Croatian leadership this evening, to discuss a confederal system in Yugoslavia.

Vojvodina Assembly Concerned Over Croat Events

LD1010175390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0928 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—At the beginning of their session today, delegates of Vojvodina Assembly expressed concern and displeasure at the increasingly complicated political situation in some parts of Croatia with the majority Serbian population.

Delegates sharply criticized and described as irregular the conduct of the Republic of Croatia security organs, which were described as extremely inhumane and detrimental to the efforts to defuse the situation.

At a joint session of all three chambers, member of the provincial government Jovan Radic informed the delegates about an exceptionally difficult economic situation in the province. This topic is to be discussed by delegates at their separate sessions.

Serb Official Criticizes FEC Kosovo Delegation

LD0710122490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1017 GMT 7 Oct 90

[Text] Pristina, 7 Oct (TANJUG)—Momcilo Trajkovic, vice president of the Executive Council of Serbia, said today that as far as he and the Executive Council of Serbia were concerned, the Federal Executive Council [FEC] delegation's visit to Kosovo had been terminated. The reason for this, Trajkovic said, is the conduct of some members of the FEC delegation before and after yesterday's official talks, and their meeting with Albanian leaders behind closed doors tonight.

This confirms, Trajkovic maintains, that FEC Vice President Zivko Pregl did not visit Kosovo to solve the problems of this province, but to divert Albanian votes to Ante Markovic's Alliance of Reformist Forces. Further meetings between the delegation members and the Albanian alternative movements cannot be accommodated within the framework of an official visit, but can only be regarded as Zivko Pregl's private affair or as talking in his capacity as a representative of the reformist forces.

Trajkovic likened the conduct of Zivko Pregl and Vlado Kambovski during their visit to Kosovo to that of U.S. Senator Robert Dole and several other U.S. senators to this province, while he regarded the approach of Stevan Santo and Radisa Gacic, also members of the FEC delegation, as being fair throughout the official talks.

Montenego Approves Proportional Representation

LD1010210490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1055 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Titograd, 10 October (TANJUG)—After the first multiparty elections in the republic, due to take place on 9 December, the councillor and deputy seats in the municipal Assembly and in the Montenegrin parliament respectively, will be apportioned in accordance with the system of proportional representation of political parties.

According to the "packet" of electoral laws, the number of deputies and councillors who will represent individual political parties in the Montenegrin parliament and in municipal assemblies respectively will be commensurate with the number of votes "obtained" during the upcoming general, direct, and secret elections.

Councillors and deputies will be elected in electoral units, and according to existing legislation these units are

the municipalities which will ensure an even regional representation in the Montenegrin Assembly. The number of deputies has been chosen in such a way that one deputy will be elected for approximately 3,500 citizens entitled to vote. The political parties which in the election fail to obtain a minimum of four percent of the total vote cast will not be taken into consideration when assembly mandates are divided up. [passage omitted]

Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Candidates Selected

LD1110083390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—During the forthcoming elections, the League of Communists of Bosnia and Hercegovina-the Socialist and Democratic Party and this republic's Democratic Socialist Alliance will present a joint list of candidates for the membership of the Presidency of Bosnia and Hercegovina. This was decided during today's session of the Presidiums of both parties.

As announced today, the two parties' candidates for membeship in the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina are Nijaz Durakovic, Fejsal Hrustanovic, Mirko Pejanovic, Nikola Stojanovic, Ivo Komsic, Zoran Perkovic and Zlatko Lagumdzija. It was approved during the joint session that support for the approved candidates can also be accepted from other political organizations and parties of similar political and program orientation.

Slovenia Reportedly Opens U.S. 'Liaison Office'

LD1110040290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2046 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] Washington, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—A liaison office of the Government of Yugoslavia's Republic of Slovenia has been operating in Washington since October 1, head of the office [words indistinct] Miloning told TANJUG on Wednesday [10 October].

The Slovenian Government has not yet issued any official statement on the opening of the office.

The State Department official in charge of Yugoslavia and Canada told TANJUG that he was "not aware of the existence of any Slovenian office" and declined to comment on the news. He recalled that the United States maintains diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia.

The Yugoslav Embassy in Washington has confirmed [words indistinct] a letter from the Slovenian Government member in charge of foreign relations Dimitrij Rupel, requesting operation between the office and the Yugoslav diplomatic mission.

Miloning—an Austrian citizen of Slovene origin with permanent residence in the United States—says that the office has no official status but closely cooperates with the Slovenian Government and "represents its interests in relation to the American federal and local authorities."

He said the task of the office was to inform the U.S. Government about political developments in Slovenia—a Yugoslav republic strongly insisting on state independence, including the right of independent conduct of its foreign policy.

This is the first time that a Yugoslav republic is represented abroad independently from the federal Foreign Ministry which, under the Constitution, is in charge of conducting the country's foreign policy.

Loncar Deems UN Meetings, U.S. Trip Successful

LD1110051290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2314 GMT 10 Oct 90

[Text] United Nations, 10 Oct (TANJUG)—The world continues to view Yugoslavia as a reliable partner, whose voice in international relations is valued and followed with attention, especially regarding its activities within the Non-aligned Movement, is the joint conclusion of talks between Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and his opposite numbers from 42 countries during his several-day visit to the United States.

Loncar, who left for Belgrade Wednesday [10 October], headed the Yugoslav delegation at the 45th regular U.N. General Assembly session, took part in the ministerial part of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), chaired the non-aligned ministerial conference [words indistinct].

All who met with the Yugoslav foreign secretary, including the U.S. and Soviet foreign ministers, James Baker and Eduard Shevardnadze, expressed support to the unity and territorial integrity of Yugoslavia and the economic reforms introduced by its government.

Loncar said he was surprised by the extent of interest of his counterparts in the events in Yugoslavia and their requests for detailed information.

The talks clearly expressed [words indistinct] that the events in Yugoslavia would take a more favourable turn, that the country would overcome its current crisis and, transformed by democratic reforms, remain an active factor in international relations.